IRANIAN NOBILITY UNDER SHAHJAHAN AND AURANGZEB

ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The Irānis did not, like the Tūrānis, belong to the race of the Imperial family of the Mughals. Yet they formed a component of the early Mughal nobility in India. It was strengthened after Humāyūn's return from Persia. Akbar patronized the Irānis so as to counter balance the influence of the Tūrānis, and his son Jahāngīr used them to limit the influence of the old Akbar Shāhī nobility.

The Irānis appear to have been migrating from different regions of the Ṣafavid Irān owing to various social and political reasons. They came from several strata of the society, having been military commanders, civil bureaucrats, merchants and scholars and professionals like physicians and architects. In India they were found employment, both through manṣabs and lower offices. In doing so, it appears that, a distinction was always made between those who came with some administrative experience and those without it. Sometimes, as under Aurangzeb, the family background was given preference over experience. During this period a considerable number of Irānis also came from the Deccan after deserting service in the Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkunda.

Our data suggest that both under Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb the Irānīs held largest number of manṣabs as compared with other racial groups, particularly in the category of highest manṣabs, viz. 5000 ẕāt and above. Amongst Irānīs belonging to different regions, both numerically and as manṣabdārs, the Teherānīs, Mashhadīs, Qandahārīs and Harvīs were prominent during Shāhjahān's reign, under Aurangzeb the Khawāfīs and Qandahārīs enjoyed a comparable position.

The Irānīs seem to have enjoyed particular preference in appointments as central ministers. They occupied most of the central offices under Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. In some they seem to have practically established a monopoly.

The fortunes of several important senior Irānian families, viz. those of I'timād-ud Daula, ʿAlī Mardān Khān, Asad Khān, Rūḥullah Khān, Mīr Jumla, the Mirzās of Qandahār and the Khawāfīs and Ma'mūrīs have been studied in the thesis. The family of I'timād-ud Daula still seems to have remained the greatest of all, and many other important Irānian families maintained matrimonial relations with this family.

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Some affinity between the Khawāfīs and Ma'mūrīs is also evident. They illustrate the careers of medium ranking nobles, specializing mainly in revenue matters.

Shāista Khān and Mīr Jumla are the two best representatives of the Irānian nobles known for their commercial activities. The latter owned ships which sailed to several of the West and South-east Asian Kingdoms. The allegation that Shāista Khān ruined English trade in Bengal can not be accepted as true. Mīr Jumla provides the best example of a merchant-noble who was successful on the two fronts, political and commercial, throughout his life.

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This is to certify that the thesis, "Iranian Nobility Under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb" submitted by Muhammad Afzal Khan is the original research work of the Candidate and is suitable for submission to the Examiners and consideration for award of the Ph.D. Degree.

(M. Athar Ali)
SUPERVISOR.

Preface

This thesis is devoted to the study of the fortunes of the Irānian nobility in the Mughal Empire during the larger part of the 17th century (the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb). An attempt is made to analyse the factors which made it important in the Mughal system, the sources and nature of Irānian immigration, and the fortunes of samples of Irānian families of high and medium ranks. The position of the Irānīs in terms of manṣabs as well as offices is examined in detail. Finally, the thesis aims at studying their relations with the commercial world.

I have been exceptionally fortunate in all those who have helped me in the preparation of my thesis. I have benefitted from the personal attention and interest of my supervisor Professor M. Athar Ali. I am very grateful to him for his guidance and supervision.

I am deeply indebted to my teacher Professor Irfan Habib who read through the entire manuscript and offered constructive criticism.

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ALIGARH: MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN

C O N T E N T S

ABBREVIATIONS

For details of books see Bibliography.

A.A.A.	Tarīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā-i ʿAbbāsī.
Āʾīn.	Āʾīn-i Akbarī.
A.N.	Akbar Nāma.
Akhbārāt	Akhbārāt-i Darbār-i Muʿallaʾ.
Apparatus	The Apparatus of Empire.
Dastūr	Dastūr-ul ʿAmal-i ʿĀlamgīrī.
E.F.I.	English Factories in India.
Iqbāl Nāma	Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.A.S. Pak.	Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan.
J.B.R.S.	Journal of Bihar Research Society.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.
Kāẓim	ʿĀlamgīr Nāma of Muḥammad Kāẓim.
K.K.	Muntakhab-ul Lubāb of Khāfī Khān.

Lāhorī	Bādshāh Nāma of ʿAbdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī.
M.A.	Ma'āṣir-i ʿĀlamgīrī.
Maʿmūrī	Tārīkh-i Aurangzeb.
Master	Diaries of Streynsham Master.
Med.Ind.Misc.	Medieval India-A Miscellany.
M.U.	Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā'.
P.I.H.C.	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
Qazwīnī	Bādshāh Nāma of Qazwīnī.
Ṣādiq Khān	Tārīkh-i Shāhjahān.
Ṣāliḥ	ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ.
S.D.A.	Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign.
T.M.	Tārīkh-i Muḥammadī.
T.U.	Tazkirat-ul Umarā'.
Tuzuk	Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī.
U.P.H.R.	U.P. Historical Review.
Wāriṡ	Bādshāh Nāma of Muḥammad Wāriṡ.
Z.Kh.	Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn.

The following abbreviation have been generally used in the tables and Appendices only.

A.C.	Appointment Ceases.
Af.	Afg͟hān
H.	Hindu
I.	Irānī
Ind.M.	Indian Muslim
P.	Prince
R.	Rājpūt
T.	Tūrānī
X	Racial group not known.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been adopted:

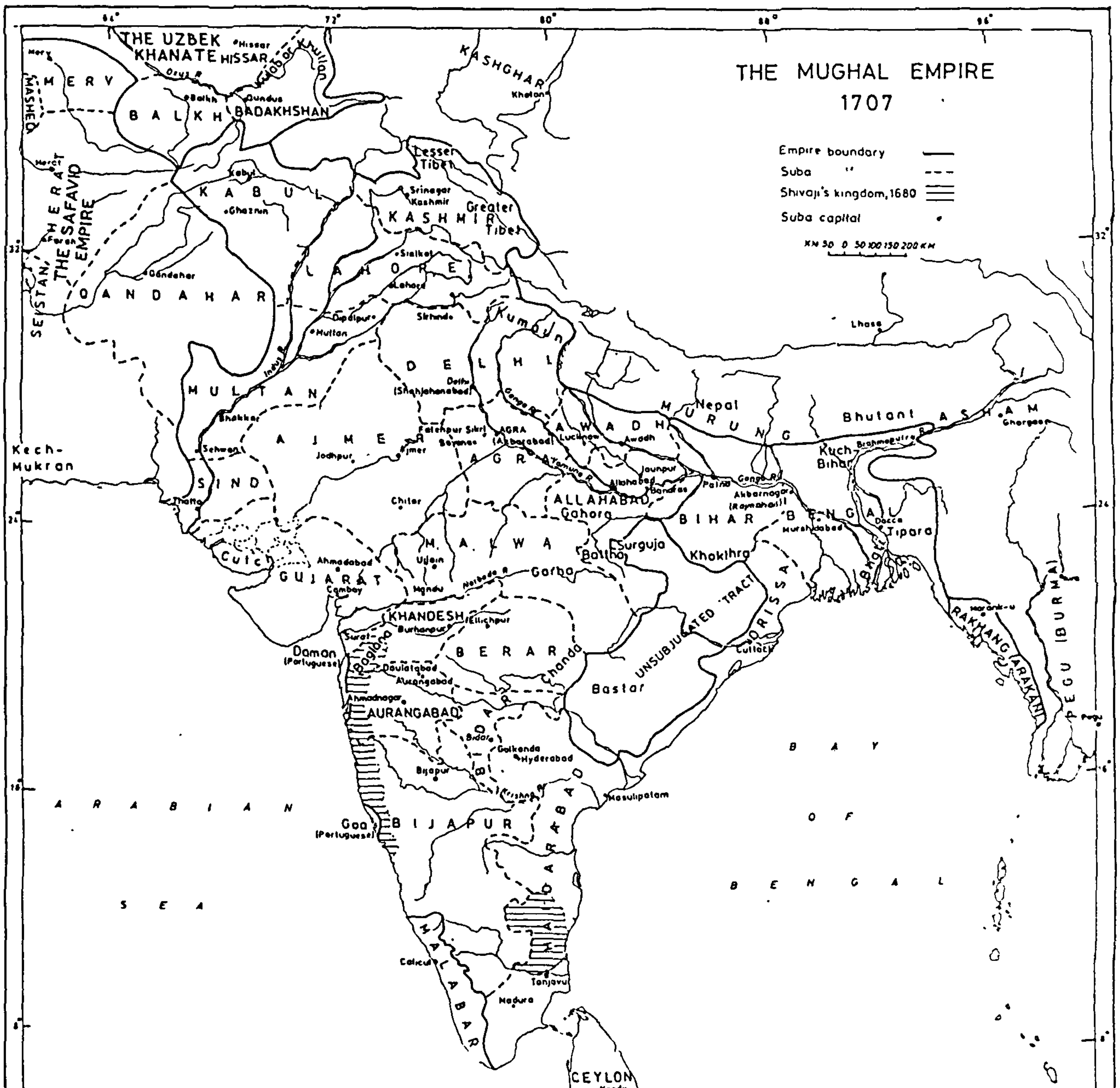
q	ق	r	ر	a	ا
k	ک	z	ز	b	ب
g	گ	s	س	p	پ
l	ل	sh	ش	t	ت-ٹ
m	م	ṣ	ص	s̤	ث
n	ن	ẓ	ض	j	ج
v,w	و	t̤	ط	ch	چ
h	ہ	z̤	ظ	ḥ	ح
'	ء	'	ع	kh	خ
i	ی	gh	غ	d	د-ڈ
e	ے	f	ف	z	ذ

The short vowels have been transliterated as a, u and i; the long vovels as ā, ū and ī.

Names of unfamiliar places have been transliterated.

CHAPTER - ONE

IRĀNIAN NOBILITY UNDER AKBAR AND JAHĀNGĪR



THE MUGHAL EMPIRE
1707
Empire boundary
Suba
Shivaji's kingdom, 1680
Suba capital
THE UZBEK KHANATE
HISSAR
BALKH
BADAKHSHAN
MERV
MASHHAD
HERAT
THE SAFAVID EMPIRE
SEISTAN
KABUL
Ghazni
QANDAHAR
KASHGHAR
Lesser Tibet
Greater Tibet
KASHMIR
Srinagar
LAHORE
Lahore
MULTAN
Multan
DELHI
Delhi (Shahjahanabad)
Kumaun
AJMER
Ajmer
Jodhpur
AGRA
Fatehpur Sikri
Bayana
AWADH
Lucknow
Awadh
ALLAHABAD
Allahabad
Banaras
Jaunpur
Nepal
MURUNG
Bhutan
ASSAM
Kuch Bihar
Lhasa
BIHAR
Patna
BENGAL
Akbarnagar (Rajmahal)
Murshidabad
Dacca
Tipara
Kech-Mukran
SIND
Thatta
Sehwan
Bhakkar
Cutch
GUJARAT
Ahmadabad
Cambay
MALWA
Ujjain
Mandu
Chitor
Gahora
Surguja
Garha
Khokhra
KHANDESH
Burhanpur
Ellichpur
BERAR
Chanda
Bastar
UNSUBJUGATED TRACT
ORISSA
Cuttack
Surat
Daman (Portuguese)
Baglana
Daulatabad
Aurangabad
Ahmadnagar
AURANGABAD
Bidar
Golkonda
Hyderabad
Bijapur
BIJAPUR
Goa (Portuguese)
Masulipatam
Krishna R.
CARNATIC
MALABAR
Calicut
Tanjavur
Madura
CEYLON
Kandy
Colombo
RAKHANG (ARAKAN)
PEGU (BURMA)
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL

CHAPTER ONE

IRĀNIAN NOBILITY UNDER AKBAR AND JAHĀNGĪR

We may take the Mughal nobility to signify the class of persons who as high officers of the Empire constituted the higher rungs in the political hierarchy. These officers comprised both civil bureaucrats and military commanders. Their personal status was officially fixed by their ranks (manṣabs) granted by the Emperor. By Aurangzeb's time the term umarā' (plural of amīr, 'commander, noble') was applied to officers holding manṣabs of 1000 ẕāt and above.[1]

The Mughal nobility was heterogenous in character as it comprised certain well-recognized racial groups such as Tūrānīs (Central Asians), Irānīs (Persians), Afghāns, Shaikhzādas (Indian Muslims), Rājpūts and the Deccanīs (i.e. Bījāpurīs, Ḥaiderābādīs and Marāthas). Chandra Bhān Brahman has given an account of this heterogenous character of the Mughal governing class towards the close of Shāhjahān's reign.[2] Among the foreign observers Bernier

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1 M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, Bombay, 1966, p. 2 (hereinafter cited as Mughal Nobility).

2 Guldasta, MS. No. 666/44 Sir Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library Aligarh, ff. 4(b)-5(a).

also speaks of the presence of Uzbeks, Persians, ʿArabs and Turks or their descendants in the Mughal court.[1] He adds that the "Omaras mostly consist of adventurers from different nations who entice one another to the court."[2]

Thus the Mughals had a multi-national, multi-racial and multi-religious ruling class. Commenting on the manṣabdārs listed in the Āʾīn-i Akbarī, Moreland noted that just under 70 per cent of the nobles whose origin is known were foreigners belonging "to families which had either come to India with Humāyūn or had arrived at the court after the accession of Akbar."[3] Amongst foreigners the two elements — Tūrānīs and Irānīs enjoyed a predominant position in Akbar's nobility. By Tūrānīs we mean persons coming from Central Asia, where the Turkish languages were spoken; and the Irānīs were largely the Persian speaking peoples from Herāt up to Baghdād i.e. the inhabitants of the whole of the present-day Persia and the Persian-speaking parts of Afghānistān and ʿIrāq.[4] We have, however, used the term

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1 Francois Bernier, Travels In The Mughal Empire 1656-1668, tr. A. Constable, second edition, Delhi 1968, p. 209.

2 Ibid., p. 212.

3 W.H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, Delhi (Rep.), 1974, pp. 69-70.

4 Mughal Nobility, op.cit., pp. 18, 19.

'Irānī nobility' in a precised sense viz. those Irānians who had served with the Ṣafavid rulers before their migration to India or the persons coming from the various parts of the Ṣafavid empire, including the Kurds, the Circassians and the Turkmāns.

Since the ruling family was of Tūrānī origin, the Tūrānī nobles were initially larger in number. Thus, it appears that the nobility bequeathed by Humāyūn was predominantly Tūrānī yet with a substantial number of Irānīs who had joined his service during his sojourn in Irān and had accompanied him to India. Abūl Faẓl has given a list of these nobles, who were 57 in all. Out of these 27 were Tūrānī and 21 Irānī; the remaining 9 of them were unidentified.[1] Among the Irānīs Bairam Khān, Afẓal Khān (Mīr Bakhshī), Ashraf Khān (Mīr Munshī), Khwāja ʿAbdul Majīd (Dīwān), Khwāja ʿAtāullah (Dīwān-i Buyūtāt), Mīr Shahābuddīn (Mīr Sāmān), Khwāja Abūl Qāsim and Mīr Ḥasan were important nobles as indicated by the offices they held.[2] During the regency of Bairam Khān Irānīs as a group maintained their position as he is found to have promoted some of his low ranking officers

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1 Afzal Husain, "Growth of Irani Element in Akbar's Nobility", P.I.H.C., 36th Session, Aligarh 1975, p. 167.

2 Abūl Faẓl, Akbar Nāma, ed. Maulavī ʿAbdur Rahīm, Bib. Ind., 3 vols, Calcutta, 1873-87, vol. I, p. 342 (hereinafter cited as A.N.).

to very high positions. The author of the Zakhirat-ul-Khawānin mentions that some twenty-five persons of lower ranks were raised to the manṣabs of 5000 by Bairam Khān.[1] Akbar himself states in a farmān that Bairam Khān raised several of his menial servants to the status of Khāns and Sulṭāns.[2]

After the dismissal of Bairam Khān a crisis developed at the court which led to the rebellion by most of the Tūrānī nobles. Akbar introduced two new elements - Shaikhzādas (Indian Muslims) and Rājpūts - as counter poise to the pressure of Tūrānī nobility. He also promoted Irānī nobles to higher ranks as a reward for their loyalty during the crisis.[3] It appears that the Irānian nobility inherited by Akbar had already formed its nucleus in the court during the period of Humāyūn's stay in Irān and his restoration of the Indian empire. In addition to this nucleus of Irānī nobles a large number of Persians migrated to India during Akbar's reign in search of employment and were admitted to

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1 Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, Zakhirat-ul Khawānin, ed. S. Moinul Haq, 3 vols., Karachi, 1961-1974, vol. I, p. 17 (hereafter see Z.Kh.).

2 A.N., Vol. II, pp. 106-107.

3 Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility Under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy 1560-80', J.R.A.S., Part 3-4, 1969, pp. 29-36 and his monograph, The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble Munim Khan Khān-i Khānān 1497-1575, Aligarh, 1973, pp. XVI-XVII.

the nobility. Several factors were responsible for their migration from Irān. Apparently, the presence already of an Irānī element in higher positions and in substantial numbers. Together with Akbar's conscious effort at diversifying the ruling class, and his patronage of Persian nobles and culture were obviously the principal factors which might have encouraged them to come to India.[1]

To this was added the persecution of Sunnīs in the Safavid empire during the sixteenth century when the choice left to several was either to accept Shī'ism or to forsake the country.[2] During Akbar's reign Mīr ʿAbdul Laṭīf of Qazwīn came to India because of religious persecution in Irān. He belonged to the Saifī Saiyids of Qazwīn who were Sunnīs by faith. On the testimony of Ghyāṣuddīn ʿAlī Āṣaf Khān, Badāūnī states that Saifī Saiyids were all bigoted Sunnīs and Shāh Ṭahmāsp deprived them of their estates, thus compelling Mīr ʿAbdul Laṭīf to come to India.[3] Sharīf Āmulī,

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1 See Afzal Husain's article op.cit.,p. 168.

2 The people of Khawāf were formerly bigoted Sunnīs but later they emerged as staunch Shīʿas under the compulsion during Shāh ʿAbbās's reign. See Z.Kh., Vol. I, pp. 195-96; see also Chapter 6 Section III.

3 ʿAbdul Qādir Badāūnī, Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, ed. Maulavī Ahmad ʿAlī, Bib. Ind., 3 Vols., Calcutta, 1868-69, Vol. III, pp. 97-99.

a leader of Nuqtavī sect, is also said to have migrated to India from Astarābād under similar circumstances.[1] India under Akbar with its liberal environment, provided a congenial atmosphere to such fugitives. Eulogizing the reign of his father Jahāngīr has rightly observed that unlike other countries, in the realm of his father peoples of different sects and creeds had occupied a place. 'While Sunnīs had no place in Irān and Shīʿas in Tūrān, but in his father's realm Shīʿas and Sunnīs together prayed in a single mosque just as "Christians and Jews" prayed together in one church.[2]

The harsh policy of the Ṣafavids towards their nobility was perhaps another major factor of the migration. After the death of Shāh Ismaʿil Ṣafavī (1524 A.D.) family feuds among princes and factional rivalries among nobles led to unstability and anarchy in the empire which found its culmination in the establishment of a tradition of blood-thirstiness in Persia.[3] Observing this state of affairs Lāhorī remarks, "In administering matters pertaining to punishment, (His Majesty) does not make any distinction

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1 Iskandar Beg Turkmān, Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā-i ʿAbbāsī, Tehrān, 1350 A.H.,Vol. II, p.476(hereinafter cited as A.A.A.).

2 Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, ed. Syed Ahmad, Ghāzīpur and Alīgarh, 1863-64, p. 16 (hereinafter see Tuzuk).

3 A.A.A., I, pp. 45-46.

between the nobles and the common people. If per chance the cruelty of the Turkish Sultāns, Qizilbāshes and Uzbeks, and their impudence in awarding punishments are mentioned in His Majesty's presence, His soul is so grieved that the signs of resentment are apparent from His luminous forehead."[1] According to M.Athar Ali during the 31 years Shāh ʿAbbās I executed no less than 48 prominent officers either on suspicions or on religious grounds. In the Mughal empire, as he remarks, let alone such executions, even dismissals, were very rare, and confiscation of nobles' property as punishment was practically unknown.[2]

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1 ʿAbdul Hamid Lāhori, Bādshāhnāma, ed. Maulavis Kabiruddin Ahmad and ʿAbdur Rahim, Bib. Ind., 2 vols, Calcutta, 1867-68, Vol. I(a) pp. 139-40 (hereafter see Lāhori). This passage has also been translated by M. Athar Ali in his article "Towards an Interpretation of the Mughal Empire" in J.R.A.S. of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 1, 1978, p. 43.

2 J.R.A.S., op.cit., p. 44. The author of Tārikh-i ʿAlam-Ārā-i ʿAbbāsi, gives a detailed account of political crisis after Shāh Tahmāsp's death and before the accession of Shāh Ismaʿil II dealing with the execution of leading nobles and assassination of Princes. See A.A.A., Vol. I, pp. 192-212. Abūl Fazl also writes that during his reign of one and a half years Shāh Ismaʿil II killed his brothers, other relatives and a large number of important nobles (A.N., Vol. III, pp. 590-92). See also P.M. Sykes, A History of Persia, London, 1915, Vol. II, p. 254, where he gives eight princes of the royal blood and seventeen leading nobles were put to death or blinded by Shāh Ismaʿil II after his accession to the throne.

In order to avoid punishments and persecutions at the hands of the court, a large number of leading nobles of the Ṣafavid empire migrated to India. Some of them were introduced in the Mughal court by their own relations who were already in service. Khwāja Ġiyāsuddīn ʿAlī Qazwīnī, his nephew Jaʿfar Beg, son of Badīuzzamān, and the well known Mirzā Ġiyās Beg I'timād-ud Daula were prominent Ṣafavid officials who came to India during Akbar's reign under such circumstances.[1] Khānlar Zūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlī also escaped his life having reached India towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign.[2]

Some of the Irānīs came to India under the growing pressure of Uzbek invasions on the border provinces and the Ṣafavid subjugation of hereditary chiefs under whom they were serving in important positions. Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān of Herāt belonged to such a family. His father Muḥammad Bāqir was the wazīr of Qarā Khān Turkmān, the ruler of Khurāsān when Qarā Khān rebelled against Shāh Ṭahmāsp and was expelled, Bāqir Khān fled from Herāt and joined the service of Bairam

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1 For details see Afzal Husain's article Op.cit., pp. 170-71.

2 Lāhorī, I (a), p. 73.

Khān along with his son Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān.[1] Qāsim Muḥammad Khān a prominent official of Nishāpūr had to forsake his country under the pressure of Uzbek invasion of Nishāpūr, and he too joined Bairam Khān's service.[2] Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān on being expelled from Gharjistān by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 1534 fled to India and joined first Bairam Khān in Qandahār and after his overthrow joined Akbar.[3] Ja'afar Khān Taklū, son of Qazzāq Khān the governor of Herāt, was also a victim of this kind. After his father's imprisonment by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 1565 Ja'afar Khān escaped to India where he was favourably received by Akbar.[4] Similarly, Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ Gīlānī, son of ʿAbdur Razzāq the ṣadr of Gīlān, fled to India along with his two brothers Ḥakīm Hummām and Ḥakīm Nūruddīn after the imprisonment of Aḥmad Khān the ruler of Gīlān under whom their father was serving. In India they were given employment by Akbar in 1576.[5] The two Ṣafavid brothers, Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain and Mirzā Rustam, great grandsons of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī, also migrated to India towards the close of Akbar's reign (See Chapter 6, Section V).

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1 Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, ed. Maulavīs ʿAbdur Raḥīm and Mirzā Ashraf ʿAlī, Bib. Ind., 3 vols., Calcutta 1888-91, Vol. II, pp. 724-29 (hereafter cited as M.U.).

2 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 50-52.

3 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 471-75.

4 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 507-509.

5 Ibid., pp. 558-562.

In addition to these specific types of immigrants, a large number of Iranis came to India during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir as adventurers in search of better opportunities knowing that the Mughal court was open to talented people, where by merit they might be able to achieve distinct positions and high mansabs in the Central Government.

Whatever might have been the cause of a particular person migrating from Iran, his previous status and experience in Iran played an important part in the rank and office assigned to him in the Mughal Empire. Only those who had requisite experience and qualifications were taken into service. In this sense the Safavid empire seems to have provided a training ground for the Mughal bureaucracy. There is, therefore, some truth, along with hyperbole in what Chandra Bhan Brahman writes:

> "..... And since this (Mughal) empire was a place where the wishes were fulfilled a large number of men of sword and pen, the people of excellence and quality, learned scholars and poets, skilled artisans and other skilful persons from the cities of the world like Istambol, Aleppo, Egypt, Syria, Basrah, Baghdad, Hamadan, Shirwan, Sumakhi, Gilan, Mazandran, Astrabad, [illegible], Kurd, Tabriz, Ardabil, [illegible], Qum, Sawah, Kashan, Tehran, Yazd, Isfahan, Shiraz,

Kirmān, Samnān, Dāmghān, Bustām, Sabzwār, Nishāpūr, Marv, Mashhad, Tūs, Tīs, Qāin, Tūn, Isfrāin, Jām, Herāt, Khawāf, Bākharz, Sīstān, Farah, Qandahār, Balkh, Badakhshān, Bukhārā, Samarqand, Andijān, Tibbet, Kāshghar, and countries of Turkistān and various kinds of people of other countries came to this great empire with great expectations and anticipations. They entered into the service of this bountiful kingdom which was an asylum for the people of the world."[1]

There is ample evidence to show that persons of professional and bureaucratic skills were always in demand at the Mughal court.[2]

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1 Guldasta, op.cit., ff. 5(a) - 6(b).

2 Fathullah Shīrāzī, the famous scholar and scientist, first came to the Deccan from Shīrāz at the invitation of the Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr. Later Akbar invited him to his court. (A.N.,III, p. 391). Mullā Shukrullah Shīrāzī, a learned man of Shīrāz intended to migrate to the Deccan and reached Surat. There he was entertained by Ābdur Rahīm Khān-i Khānān who himself was a good scholar and patron of learning. He took the Mulla into his service. Later on Mullā Shukrullah was appointed Ārz-i Mukarrar by Jahāngīr (Lāhorī, I(a), pp. 257-58; I(b), p. 339; Cf. Z.Kh., II, p. 255 where his name is wrongly mentioned as Mullā Ābdul Shakūr). Mīr Muhammad Amīn, Mīr Jumla Shahristānī was wazīr of Golkunda under Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. When the Qutb Shāh died Mīr Jumla returned to Isfahān. Where he was ill-treated by Shāh Ābbās I. Eventually, in a letter to Jahāngīr he expressed his earnest desire of joining the Mughal service. Jahāngīr thereupon invited him and appointed him Mīr-i Sāmān (Lāhorī, I(a), p. 258; I(b), p. 279).

During the reign of Jahāngīr Irānīs are found to have improved their position both in number and manṣabs. On the basis of M. Athar Ali's lists[1] I have compiled my own tables which have been appended at the end of this chapter. The manṣabdārs of Jahāngīr's reign have been divided into two phases - viz. (a) from 1605 to 1616 and (b) from 1617 to 1627. Each phase contains two tables one showing the numerical strength of different racial groups and the other their manṣabs in the aggregate. Manṣabdārs holding the rank of 1000 ẕāt and above, who were alive till the termination point of each phase have been taken into account. Secondly, only the highest ranks acquired by the manṣabdārs by the end of each phase have been calculated, the preceding lower ranks being dropped. In Akbar's nobility druing 1575-1595 out of 87 total manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above, there were 24 Irānīs (27.58%), 32 Tūrānīs (36.78%), 14 Indian Muslims (16.09%), 14 Rājpūts and Hindūs (16.09%), and 3 persons with origin not traceable (3.44%).[2] During the first phase of Jahāngīr's reign (1605-1616) out of 131 total manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above the Irānīs numbered 38(29%) Tūrānīs 35 (26.7%), Indian Muslims 15 (11.4%), Rājpūts 25(19%)

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1 The Apparatus of Empire - Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658), O.U.P.,Delhi, 1985, pp. 41-90 (hereafter see Apparatus).

2 See Iqtidar Alam Khan's article op.cit., p. 35.

and unidentified 6(4.5%). This shows that under Jahāngīr the number of Tūrānīs declined from 36.7% to 26.7%, while Irānīs increased marginally from 27.5%, to 29%. During the second phase of Jahāngīr's reign (1617-1627) Irānīs further improved their position as they numbered 48 out of 143 total number of manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above, thus accounting for 33.5% of the total nobility. The Tūrānīs, receded further, numbering only 27 or 18.8% of the total.

A similar picture emerges from a study of the total manṣabs held by the various racial groups. The manṣab statistics for 1605 (at the death of Akbar) have been compiled by Afzal Husain[1] and for the two phases of Jahāngīr's reign by me.[2] Afzal Husain has included manṣabdārs of 500 ẕāt and above while I have confined myself to manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above. Thus it appears that at the death of Akbar out of total known manṣabs of 1,87,000 ẕāt and 46,950 sawār, Tūrānīs held 76,800 ẕāt and 19,400 sawār, respectively 41% and 43.7% of the total. The Irānīs held 34,200 ẕāt and 11,700 sawār or 18% and 26% of the total. It also appears that the share of Irānīs in the total ranks during the later years of Akbar's reign was even lower than that of the Rājpūts who held 41,200 ẕāt (22%) and 14,650 sawār (33%). Indian Muslims held just 7% of the total (ẕāt) rank. Commenting on

1 "The Position of Racial Groups In the Mughal Nobility 1605-1613", in U.P.Historical Review, Vol.2,No.1,1983, Table-B, p. 23.

2 See Appendix B Tables 1-2.

his tables Afzal Husain says that the Irānīs tended to be more numerous in minor ranks, whereas out of 32 Tūrānī nobles, 28 nobles held ranks of 1000 zāt and above and among those six held ranks of 5000 zāt and above.[1]

However, a significant change occurs during the reign of Jahāngīr. By the end of the first phase (1616) out of total ranks of 3,56,900 zāt and 2,07,330 sawār, the Irānīs held 1,09,700 zāt and 68,200 sawār, respectively 30.7% and 32.8% of the total. The Tūrānīs held 94,000 zāt and 47,130 sawār or 26.3% and 22.7% of the total. Thus the Tūrānīs' share in the total ranks sharply declined, while that of the Irānīs rose dramatically and now exceeded that of the Tūrānīs. The Rajputs also lost considerably, since they now held 19.3% of zāt and 17.1% of sawār ranks while Indian Muslims gained an increase from just 7% of the total zāt during Akbar's later years to 13.1% of zāt and 16.9% of sawār of the total ranks in 1616. In contrast to Akbar's time Jahāngīr's reign saw a pre-eminence of the Irānīs in the highest ranks. Out of 38 Irānīs of 1000 zāt and above at least nine belonged to the category of 5000 zāt and above while there were seven Tūrānīs in the same

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1 See Afzal Husain's article in U.P.H.R., op.cit., p. 24.

category. In the second phase the number of Tūrānis in that category declined to five, while that of the Irānis increased to eleven.

By the close of Jahāngīr's reign the Irānīs are thus found to have considerably exceeded the Tūrānīs both in numerical strength within the nobility, as well as in terms of manṣabs held. Out of total ranks of 3,45,900 ẕāt and 2,41,480 sawār, the Irānīs held 1,28,000 ẕāt (37%) and 1,08,000 sawār (44.7%) while Tūrānīs held 67,000 ẕāt (19.3%) and 44,050 sawār ranks (18.2%).

An analysis of racial composition of central ministers and provincial governors is also of some interest. The statistics for the same have been taken from Afzal Husain's papers[1] and M. Athar Ali's lists.[2]

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1 For Central Ministers see "The Position of Racial Groups in the Mughal Nobility" in U.P.H.R., op.cit., p. 26; and for governors see "Provincial Governors Under Akbar (1580-1605)", in P.I.H.C., 32nd Session, Jabalpur, 1970, pp. 269-277.

2 Apparatus, op.cit. Tables 1-2, 4-5, pp. xxvii-xxix, xxxii-xxxvi.

Central Ministers Under Akbar

Office	Irānīs	Tūrānīs	Ind.Muslims	Rājpūts	Un-speci fied.	Total
Wakīl	2	5	-	-	-	7
Wazīr/ Dīwān	7	2	-	-	1	10
Mīr Bakhshī	8	3	2	2	-	15
Ṣadr-us-Ṣudūr	2	1	1	-	-	4

Central Ministers Under Jahāngīr

Office	Irānīs	Tūrānīs	Indian Muslims	Total
Wakīl	4	-	-	4
Wazīr/Dīwān	4	1	-	5
Mīr Bakhshī	5	1	1	7
Mīr Sāmān	3	-	-	3
Ṣadr-us-Ṣudūr	1	-	2	3

Provincial Governors Under Akbar And Jahāngīr

Period	Total No. of Appoint-ments.	Irānīs	Tūrānīs	Afghāns	Ind. Mus-lims	Rājpūts & Hindūs.	Unspe-cified
Akbar 1580-1605.	49	16	17	1	6	7	2
Jahāngīr 1605-1627.	61	23	18	3	13	3	1

It is infered from these tables that Akbar drew his ministers from almost all sections of the nobility. Irānīs, Tūrānīs, Indian Muslims and Hindūs. Except for the office of wakīl, where out of seven incumbents only two were Irānīs and remaining five were Tūrānīs, in other central offices the Irānīs are fairly well represented under Akbar. Under Jahāngīr however, the complexion changes entirely in their favour: All his four wakīls were Irānīs, so were all his four dīwāns, except for Jān Beg Wazīr-ul Mulk (a Tūrānī) who held the office jointly for barely one year at the beginning of the reign. As regards the Mīr Bakhshīs, with the exception of Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī (Indian Muslim).and Jān Beg Wazīr-ul Mulk (Tūrānī), who held the office for very short periods,

all his Mīr Bakhshīs were Irānīs, and so were all his Mīr Sāmāns. The office of Ṣadr-us Ṣudūr, was a semi-theological office, and so Sunnīs were preferred. Here alone were the Irānīs, being Shīʿas, sparingly appointed. Under Akbar two Irānīs held office as Ṣadrs for about nine years; under his son only one Irānī held this office during the last three years of Jahāngīr's reign.[1] Except for the office of Ṣadr, then, the Irānīs tended to monopolise central offices. This trend appears to have continued during the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb.[2]

During Akbar's reign (for only a part of his reign 1580-1605) all the four major racial groups supplied provincial governors in a fairly balanced manner. The Irānīs appear to have been treated at par with Tūrānīs, and the Rājpūts with Indian Muslims. Out of 49 total incumbents (excluding Princes) known to have been appointed as governors of various ṣūbas, the Irānīs numbered 16 and Tūrānīs 17, Indian Muslims six, and Rājpūts seven. But during Jahāngīr's reign both Irānīs and Indian Muslims appear to have cornered most appointments. Our table shows

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1 Also see Apparatus, p. xxii.

2 See Chapter 5.

that out of 61 persons (excluding princes) known to have been appointed governors of various provinces 23 were Irānīs against 18 Tūrānīs and 13 Indian Muslims, while the number of Rājpūts fell to three.

These inferences are also borne out by contemporary records.[1] They suggest that Jahāngīr extended special favours to Irānīs and Indian Muslims while the Tūrānīs and Rājpūts felt they were being thrown into the background. William Hawkins (1609-11) and Nimatullah (1614) also draw similar conclusions at least in respect of the Rājpūts.[2] The rise of the Irānīs during the reign of Jahāngīr is attributable to his policy of not placing absolute reliance on the old (Akbar Shāhī) nobility particularly when Khusrau had rebelled soon after his accession. He strove to promote a new (Jahāngīr Shāhī) nobility in whom he could have complete confidence to counter the old nobility.

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1 Mirzā 'Azīz Koka's petition in 'Arzdāsht-hā-i Muzaffar, B.M. MS. Add. 16859, ff. 19a-b. In his 'arzdāsht (petition) to Jahāngīr, dated 1613, Mirzā 'Azīz Koka writes: "His Majesty Akbar, during the fifty years of his reign, increased the number of Chaghatāis (Tūrānīs) and Rājpūts for these people are not seditious. (But) Your Majesty has destroyed both these groups and have entrusted your entire business to Khurāsānīs (Irānīs) and Shaikhzādās (Indian Muslims) who know nothing except hypocrisy and sedition." See also Anonymous (probably Pelsaert), A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, tr. Brij Narain and S.R. Sharma, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 92-3.

2 Early Travels in India (1583-1619), ed. W. Foster, London, 1927, pp. 106-107; Tārikh-i Khān Jahāni, ed. S.M. Imām Al-Dīn, Dacca, 1960, Vol. II, pp. 497-98.

Jahāngīr appears to have recruited to higher ranks his personal servants, family friends and those who stood with him at crucial moments of his career. A few nobles were, however, raised to higher ranks on political considerations. Some of the Akbarī nobles, who sided with him at the time of the accession crisis, were also promoted; though their promotions were rather modest. Jahāngīr's own remarks made at the time of promoting these nobles clearly indicate that substantial promotions were given primarily on the basis of personal loyalty. To this may be related his reliance upon the family of I'timādud-Daula and Nūr Jahān, on whose members he conferred high ranks and offices. There is hardly any reference to suggest that favours were shown to a particular noble on the basis of his racial status or that the Emperor was sympathetic towards a particular group of nobles.[1]

It may be noted that after his accession Jahāngīr retained most of the old Akbarī nobles in his service and restored their previous positions. In the eleventh article of his twelve regulations issued after his accession he declares, "I gave a general order that the rank and jāgīr

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1 See Afzal Husain's article 'Elements of Continuity and Stability in the Mughal Nobility Under Akbar and Jahāngīr', in Studies in History, Vol. II, No. 2, July-December, 1980, pp. 30-31.

held by my father's servants will remain unchanged." Elsewhere he adds, "I left all those who were in possession of posts both inside and outside in the position which they had with my father."[1] Yet in practice the older nobility was divested of much of its influence. Although Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka and Mān Singh were retained in service, they lost the unique position which they had enjoyed under Akbar. Thus when the rapid promotions were given to certain nobles or the families of nobles (mainly Irānīs and Shaikhzādās) the resentment among the old nobility was inevitable. Hence the allegation of ʿAzīz Koka regarding Jahāngīr's attitude towards the four leading racial groups. After a close scrutiny of ʿAzīz Koka's ʿarẓdāsht in the light of the events surrounding the accession of Jahāngīr, Afzāl Husain arrives at the conclusion that ʿAzīz Koka's complaint was actually directed against the Emperor's apathy towards the old Akbarī nobles and undue favours shown to a particular group of nobles (which included some Tūrānīs as well as Rājpūts). According to him when ʿAzīz Koka states that Tūrānīs and Rājpūts were destroyed, he apparently has in mind the isolation of the Atkas (to which ʿAzīz Koka belonged) and the House of Amber (to which Mān Singh belonged). Similarly

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1 Tuzuk, pp. 4-5, 7.

when he alleges that the Emperor had entrusted the entire business in the hands of Khurāsānis (Irānis) and Shaikhzādas he seems to have had in his mind family of I'timād-ud-Daula which had become very powerful immediately after the marriage of Nūr Jahān with Jahāngīr[1] as well as members of Salīm Chishtī's family[2] to which Jahāngīr was particularly attached owing to the circumstances of his own birth.[3]

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1 Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nūr Jahān During Jahāngīr's Reign - A Political Study', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. I, 1969, pp. 74-95.

2 See Afzal Husain, 'The Family of Shaikh Salim Chishti During the Reign of Jahangir', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. II, pp. 61-69.

3 Afzal Husain's article in I.P.H.C., Op.cit., p. 28.

APPENDIX-A

Numerical Composition of Racial Groups under Jahāngīr

Table 1 First Phase (1605-1616)

S. No.	Category	Irānīs	Tūrānīs	Afghāns	Indian Muslims	Other Muslims	Rājpūts	Hindus	Unidentified	Total
1.	A 5000-7000 zāt	9	7	1	4	-	4	1	1	27
	%	33.3	25.9	3.7	14.8		14.8	3.7	3.7	
2.	B 3000-4500 zāt	7	4	-	4	-	8	-	-	23
	%	30.4	17.3		17.3		34.7			
3.	C 1000-2500 zāt	22	24	7	7	2	13	1	5	81
	%	27.1	29.6	8.6	8.6	2.4	16.0	1.2	6.1	
Total		38	35	8	15	2	25	2	6	131
Percentage		29.0	26.7	6.1	11.4	1.5	19.0	1.5	4.5	100

Table 2 Second Phase (1617-1627)

S.No.	Category	Irānīs	Tūrānīs	Afghāns	Indian Muslims	Rājpūts	Marāthas	Hindus	Unidentified	Tota
1.	A 5000-7000 zāt	11	5	1	2	5	-	-	-	24
	%	45.8	20.8	4.1	8.3	20.8				
2.	B 3000-4500 zāt	8	4	2	3	3	1	-	-	21
	%	38.0	19.0	9.5	14.2	14.2	4.7			
3.	C 1000-2500 zāt	29	18	10	16	17	-	1	7	98
	%	29.5	18.3	10.2	16.3	17.3		1.0	7.1	
Total		48	27	13	21	25	1	1	7	143
Percentage		33.5	18.8	9.0	14.6	17.4	0.7	0.7	4.8	100

APPENDIX-B

Mansabs Held by Different Racial Groups Under Jahāngīr

Table 1 : First Phase (1605-1616)

ategory		Irānīs	Tūrānīs	Afghāns	Indian Muslims	Other Muslims	Rājpūts	Hindus	Unidentified	Total
a) *Mansabdārs* f 5000 *zāt* & bove	7000x3	7000/5000	14000/x	-	-	-	-	-	-	21000/ 5000
	6000x4	6000/3000	12000/10000	-	6000/12000	-	-	-	-	24000/25000
	5000x20	35000/32000	15000/10000	5000/5000	15000/9000	-	20000/11300	5000/5000	5000/2000	100000/74300
otal	27	48000/40000	41000/20000	5000/5000	21000/21000	-	20000/11300	5000/5000	5000/2000	145000/104300
	%	33.10/38.35	28.27/19.17	3.44/4.79	14.48/20.13		13.79/10.83	3.44/4.79	3.44/1.91	100
b) *Mansabdārs* f 3000 to 000 *zāt*	4000x11	20000/13900	8000/3500	-	4000/2000	-	12000/9900	-	-	44000/29300
	3500x3	3500/2500	-		3500/2200	-	3500/2000	-	-	10500/6700
	3000x9	3000/2000	6000/3000	-	6000/4300	-	12000/1500	-	-	27000/10800
otal	23	26500/18400	14000/6500	-	13500/8500	-	27500/13400	-	-	81500/46800
	%	32.51/39.31	17.17/13.88		16.56/18.16		33.74/28.63			100
c) *Mansabdārs* f 1000 to below 000 *zāt*	2500x08	5000/2000	7500/3500	-	2500/1000	-	5000/2400	-	-	20000/8900
	2000x27	12000/2950	16000/8150	2000/1000	6000/2700	4000/1000	10000/5700	-	4000/1200	54000/22700
	1800x01	1800/ -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1800/ -
	1700x01	-	-	-	-	-	-	1700/1000	-	1700/1000
	1500x17	9000/1450	7500/4000	4500/1700	3000/1700	-	1500/-	-	-	25500/8850
	1400x01	1400/800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1400/ 800
	1000x26	6000/2600	8000/4980	3000/3000	1000/300	-	5000/2700	-	3000/400	26000/13980
otal	81	35200/9800	39000/20630	9500/5700	12500/5700	4000/1000	21500/10800	1700/1000	7000/1600	130400/56230
	%	26.99/17.42	29.90/36.68	7.28/10.13	9.58/10.13	3.06/1.77	16.48/19.20	1.30/1.77	5.36/2.84	100
otal (a+b+c)	131	109700/68200	94000/47130	11500/10700	47000/35200	4000/1000	69000/35500	6700 /6000	12000/3600	356900/207330
	%	30.73/32.89	26.33/22.73	4.06/5.16	13.16/16.97	1.12/0.48	19.33/17.12	1.87/2.89	3.36/1.73	100

Mansabs Held by Different Racial Groups Under Jahāngīr

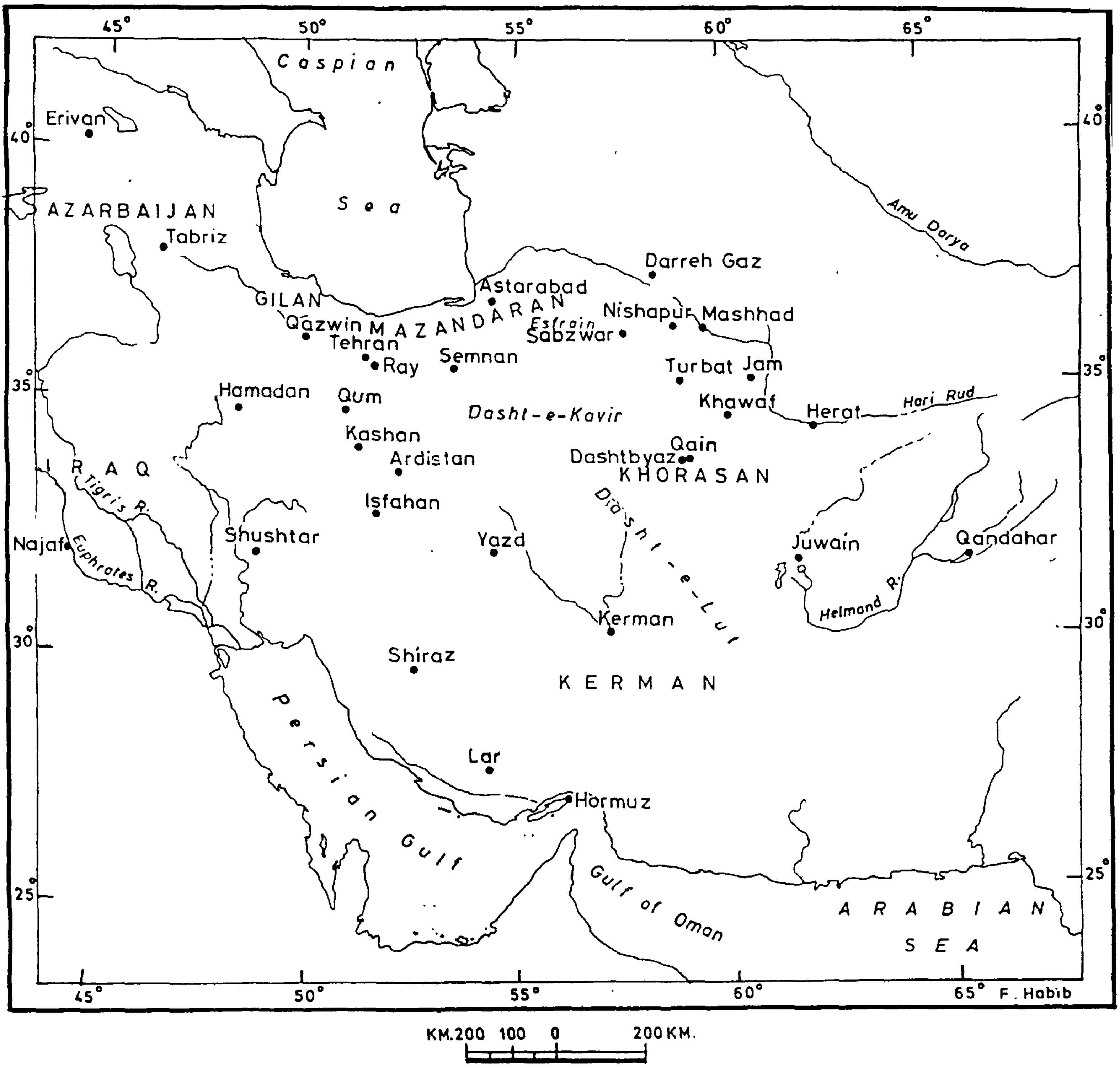
Table 2 Second Phase (1617-1627)

tegory		IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	HINDUS	MARĀTHAS	UNIDENTIFIED	TOTAL
Mansabdārs 5000 zāt & ɒve	7000x2	14000/21000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14000/21000
	6000x1	-	-	6000/6000	-	-	-	-	-	6000/6000
	5000x21	45000/46500	25000/21000	-	10000/10000	25000/22000	-	-	-	105000/99500
ɑl	24	59000/67500	25000/21000	6000/6000	10000/10000	25000/22000	-	-	-	125000/126500
	%	47.2/53.35	20/16.60	4.8/4.74	8/7.90	20/17.39				100
Mansabdārs 3000 to 0 zāt	4000x11	16000/15000	8000/5500	4000/-	4000/2500	12000/3000	-	-	-	44000/26000
	3000x10	12000/6400	6000/3000	3000/2000	6000/ -	-	-	3000/1500	-	30000/12900
al	21	28000/21400	14000/8500	7000/2000	10000/2500	12000/3000	-	3000/1500	-	74000/38900
	%	37.83/55.01	18.91/21.85	9.45/5.14	13.51/6.42	16.21/7.71	-	4.05/3.85		100
Mansabdārs 1000 to ɔw 3000	2500x6	2500/1000	5000/3000	5000/3400	2500/1500	-	-	-	-	15000/8900
	2000x29	12000/6100	12000/5100	6000/4000	8000/5700	20000/11300	-	-	-	58000/32200
	1500x21	13500/7100	3000/2700	1500/1200	4500/2900	7500/3900	-	-	1500/ -	31500/17800
	1200x2	-	1200/450	-	-	-	-	-	1200/300	2400/750
	1000x40	13000/4900	7000/3300	4000/1500	8000/4000	2000/500	1000/1200	-	5000/1030	40000/16430
ɑl	98	41000/19100	28200/14550	16500/10100	23000/14100	29500/15700	1000/1200	-	7700/1330	146900/76080
	%	27.91/25.10	19.19/19.12	11.23/13.27	15.65/18.53	20.08/20.63	0.68/1.57		5.24/1.74	100
ɑl (a+b+c)	143	128000/108000	67000/44050	29000/18100	43000/26600	66500/40700	1000/1200	3000/1500	7700/1330	345900/241480
	%	37.00/44.72	19.36/18.24	8.38/7.49	12.43/11.01	19.22/16.85	0.28/ 0.49	0.86/0.62	2.22/0.55	100

CHAPTER - TWO

IMMIGRATION FROM IRĀN UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN.

SAFAVID IRAN



CHAPTER TWO

IMMIGRATION FROM IRĀN UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

We have seen that at the close of Jahāngīr's reign the Irānīs formed a very important element in the nobility, and this element was constantly replenished by immigration. Such immigration continued during the reign of Shāhjahān. An attempt is made to analyse the character of their emigra tion, the type of immigrants, their status in their homeland before migration to India and their status in India after their arrival.

A list of immigrants is given in the Appendix to this Chapter based on the major sources of Shāhjahān's reign. In the text below the numbers within brackets after each name refer to the serial numbers given in the Appendix.

First of all we find that the Irānians coming direct from Irān came in search of administrative employment and many of these were forced to leave the country by the growing political instability after the death of Shāh ʿAbbās I. Some of them belonged to the families of high repute and eminence whose members had been in the service of Ṣafavid rulers with important positions. Others were themselves holding high offices in Irān before coming to India. Secondly, a considerable number of scholars, poets, scientists and

physicians came to India during the period. In addition to these two categories a number of important Irānian immigrants who had been serving in the Deccani Kingdoms also joined the Mughal service during this period.

As regards the persons of rank, our list shows that many of the immigrants or their ancestors held important offices under their previous masters in Irān or in the Deccan, before joining Mughal service. The most important of these were Rustam Khān (Muqarrab Khān), Qizilbāsh Khān (I'timād Khān). Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumla and his son Mīr Muḥammad Amīn amongst the Deccani nobles.[1] Rustam Khān (Muqarrab Khān) and Qizilbāsh Khān (I'timād Khān) were both generals of Niẓām Shāhī and ʿĀdil Shāhī Kingdoms respectively. Muqarrab Khān, previously the chief swordsman (Mīr-i-Shamshīr) and a general (Sar-i Lashkar), was appointed as commander-in-chief vice Fatḥ Khān the son of Malik ʿAmber, when Fatḥ Khān was imprisoned by Niẓām Shāh. But after some time he was released and restored to his office of commander-in-chief and Muqarrab Khān was removed from the office. Thereupon the latter with a large number of his officers and supporters joined Mughal service. He was awarded

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1. See Appendix (Nos. 5,6,70 and 71).

the rank of 5000/5000 and the insignia of Māhi Marātib. Subsequently he was appointed Ṣūbedār of Kabul and promoted to the rank of 6000/6000 (5000x2-3h).[1] Qizilbāsh Khān Afshār belonged to an aristocratic family of Irān, his father and grandfather had been governor of Erivān and Wazīr of Irān respectively.[2] Qizilbāsh Khān had migrated to the Deccan and was appointed a general by Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shāh of Bijapur. In 1632 he joined Mughal service and was appointed Thānadār of Pathri and awarded the rank of 2000/1000. After some time he was promoted to 3000/3000 (500 x 2-3h) and appointed Qilʿadār of Ahmadnagar.[3] His sons and sons-in-law were also given suitable ranks and offices by Shāhjahān.[4]

Amongst the direct Irānian immigrants the best known was ʿAlī Mardān Khān Zīg, a Kurd by origin. His father Ganj ʿAlī Khān Zīg was a confidential officer of Shāh ʿAbbās I who called him Arjumand Bābāʾī and appointed him governor of Kirmān and Qandahār. After his father's death ʿAlī Mardān Khān

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1. Lāhorī, Vol. I(a), pp. 378-79, 394, 408.
2. Ibid., f. 441.
3. Ibid., p. 537; Vol. I(b), pp. 35, 249, Vol. II, pp. 176, 417; MU, III, 85-87.
4. See Appendix (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 49 and 66).

was appointed governor of Qandahār and was called Bābā-i-Sānī by the Shāh.[1] When he was charged with serious offences by Shāh Ṣafī he made over the fort of Qandahār to Shāhjahān in 1638 and came to India where he was awarded the rank of 6000/6000 and the titles of Amīr-ul Umarā' and Yār-i wafādār.[2] He was also appointed ṣūbedār of Kashmir and subsequently of Lahore and Kabul; his rank was raised to 7000/7000 (5000X2-3 h).[3] His sons-in-law Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg and 'Alī Beg Sulṭān were also entrusted with important assignments.[4] Ḥusain Beg Khān was first awarded the rank of 1000/400; this was subsequently raised to 1,500/1000. Shāhjahān subsequently gave him an independent charge and appointed him Ākhtabegī (master of horse), an assignment which was usually given to a very trustworthy man. In 1646 he was given in addition the office of Tuzuk and in 1649 he was made ṣūbedār of Kashmir.[5] 'Alī Beg was appointed deputy ṣūbedār of Kashmir and awarded the rank of 2000 zāt.[6] Other sons of 'Alī Mardān Khān were awarded

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1. A.A.A., Vol. 2, p. 1041. Also see Chapter 6 Section II.

2. Lāhorī, Vol. II, pp. 92, 123-26, 222-23; Ṣādiq Khān, Tārīkh-i Shāhjahān, MS. Br.M. OR No. 1671, ff. 49(b) 50(a), 53(a), 56(a) (rotograph in the Department of History, Aligarh), (hereafter cited as Ṣādiq Khān).

3. Ibid. See Appendix (No. 19).

4. See Appendix (Nos. 20 and 21).

5. Lāhorī, Vol. II, pp. 141,412,431, 492; Muḥammad Wāris, Bādshāh Nāma (Transcribed copy Nos. 86, 87 in the Department of History, p. 36 (hereafter cited as Wāris).

6. Lāhorī, Vol. II, pp. 100, 130; Ṣādiq Khān, f. 49(b).

mansabs, but appear to have served in company with their father.[1] Murshid Quli Khan who came in the train of 'Ali Mardan Khan came to acquire considerable fame in the Deccan. He was first appointed Diwan of the Panjab and Multan,[2] later he was given the charge of Mir-i Atish, elephant stable, faujdari of the foot hills of Kangrah and was also appointed Akhtabegi.[3] Murshid Quli Khan was well versed in revenue matters. He was therefore, appointed diwan of Balaghat and Payanghat in the Deccan, during Aurangzeb's second Viceroyalty and was raised to the rank of 1500/1000.[4] During his term of office in the Deccan, Murshid Quli Khan rendered valuable services in the administration of revenue by a new code of regulations.[5]

The table also suggests that civil or military experience of a person were often considered more important than his family background. A number of persons who had

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1. See Appendix (Nos. 22, 23, 24 and 25).

2. Lahori, Vol. II, pp. 230, 331. He was not appointed subedar of the Panjab as suggested by Beveridge. Cf. M.U. tr. (Reprint), New Delhi 1979, Vol. 2, p. 304.

3. Lahori, Vol. II, pp. 362, 471; Waris, pp. 192, 223.

4. Waris, pp. 192, 235, 307-308, 323; also see Appendix (No.27).

5. For details of Murshid Quli Khan's revenue reforms in the Deccan see Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul Lubab, ed. Kabiruddin Ahmad and Ghulam Qadir, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1868-70, Vol. I, pp. 732-35 (hereafter see K.K.)

aristocratic background (and whose ancestors having been wazirs, sadrs, and governors of provinces in Irān), while they themselves did not have any administrative experience, were not given high ranks and offices. They were awarded generally a khil'at, a horse, or an in'ām of some considerable amount.[1] Muhammad Ja'far (No. 39) whose father-in-law Sārū Taqī was wazīr of Shāh 'Abbās 1 and Mīr Muhammad Hādī (No.50) whose father Mīr Rafī' was a son-in-law of the Shāh and Sadr of Irān were awarded merely an in'ām of Rs. 2000/- and Rs. 1000/- respectively on their arrival in India, the latter however was subsequently appointed to the post of faujdār of Majhwa.[2] Abdāl Beg (No. 65), son of Qalandar Sultān the governor of Jām and Fīroz (No. 47) and Nia'matullah(No. 48) the sons of the governor of Ormuz were also awarded Rs.5000/- as in'ām.[3] None of them was given any important office through out the reign of Shāh Jahān.[4]

On the other hand, actual experience was given due recognition. Besides khil'a ts, in'āms, horses etc., such immigrants were also given ranks.[5] 'Alī Akbar Bāzargān (No.41)

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1. See Appendix (Nos. 39, 42, 47, 48 and 50).
2. Lāhorī, Vol. II, p. 472; Wāris, pp. 58, 63, 309.
3. Ibid., p. 506; Ibid., pp. 35-36.
4. See Appendix (Nos. 39, 47, 48 and 50).
5. Ibid., (Nos. 41, 45, 58, 62, 63).

was a merchant by profession and had settled with his father Ḥāji Muḥammad Kamāl of Iṣfahān in Surat during Jahāngir's reign. On account of his long experience of dealings with Mughal officials at Surat, Shāhjahān appointed him governor of Surat and Khanbāyat and awarded him the rank of 500/100.[1] Muḥammad Muḥsin Kirmānī (No. 45), who had some military experience having been an employee of Jānī Khān, the Qūrchibāshī (Commander of armoured cavaliers), was awarded a rank and in'ām of Rs. 6000/- on his arrival at Mughal court.[2] Imām Qulī Shāmlū (No. 58) and Muḥammad Amīn Shāmlū (No. 63) who were Yūzbāshīs (commander of one hundred soldiers) and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (No. 62) son of Muḥammad Ṭāhir Iṣfahānī, who had been wazīr of Auqāf in Iṣfahān, were awarded ranks, khil'ats and in'āms.[3]

Saiyids of noble descent were received with great respect and awarded ranks and offices of importance.[4] Mīr Maḥmūd (No. 35) a Saiyid of Iṣfahān was awarded the rank of 500/50 and appointed Dārogha of branding; later on he was promoted to the office of Bakhshī and Wāqi'a nawīs of Ahmadabad.[5]

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1. Lāhorī, Vol. II, pp. 606-607.
2. Ibid., pp. 604-605, 679.
3. Wāriṣ, pp. 182, 284, 313, 234, 213, 215, 272.
4. See Appendix (Nos. 35, 43, 68).
5. Lāhorī, Vol. II, pp. 406, 501, Wāriṣ, pp. 215, 360; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambo, 'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ, ed. Ghulām Yazdānī, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1939, Vol. III, p. 469.

The next outstanding figure was Mirza Muhammad (No. 43), son of Mir Hadi Mashhadi. He was a Saiyid of Mashhad and his ancestors had been guardians of the holy shrine of Imam Riza. On his arrival he was given a rank of 1000/400 which was subsequently increased to 2000/1000, he was also appointed faujdar and jagirdar of Mandsor.[1]

In the category of scholars, physicians and poets, who were given varied ranks, offices and other awards,[2] mention may be made of Mulla 'Alaul Mulk Tuni (No.12), Hakim Daud Taqarrub Khan (No. 33) and Mulla Shafi'ai Yazdi Danishmand Khan (No. 57).

Mulla 'Alaul Mulk was a mathematician and astronomer. He was appointed Mir-i Saman and afterwards the Qil'adar of Agra. He was first awarded the rank of 500/50 and was rapidly promoted to that of 3000/600, and was granted the title of Fazil Khan.[3] Hakim Daud Taqarrub Khan (No.33) was chief physician under Shah 'Abbas I. But having got fed up with the fatal intriques of his enemies and perpetual ill-treatment from Shah Safi and his successor Shah 'Abbas II, he sought refuge with the Mughal court where he was honoured with the mansab of 1500/200 and made imperial physician by

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1. Lahori, II, pp. 509, 636; Waris, pp. 53,68, 126, 138; Sadiq Khan, f. 63(a); Z.Kh. Vol. III, pp. 100-101.

2. See Appendix (Nos. 3,4,12,13,15,31,33,34,54,57,60,70,73, 74).

3. Lahori, II, pp. 310, 402, 491-92, 755; Waris, pp. 2,15, 58,127,240,273,292; M.U., Vol. III, pp. 524-30.

by Shāh Jahān. Subsequently through rapid promotions he was raised to the rank of 4000/1000.[1] Mullā Shafī'ā-i Yazdī who was given the title of Dānishmand Khān, was a learned scholar of Irān. When he came to the notice of Shāh Jahān, he was awarded the rank of 1000/100 and subsequently promoted to that of 3000/600.[2] He is known to us also through Bernier, who was employed by him during his sojourn at Delhi, and from whom he wished to learn of European sciences.[3]

Similarly, Ḥakīm Fatḥ Ullah of Shīrāz (No.13), who belonged to a very reputed family of physicians in Irān and was the personal physician of Imām Qulī Khān the governor of Fārs, enjoyed high rank and imperial favour, along with his kinsmen.[4]

At the end of this survey a few general features emerges. Firstly, the immigration from Irān was generally of individuals and not of whole families or establishments (retainers, etc.), the only exception being offered by 'Alī Mardān Khān who came along with his family and a large number of companions and officers. Some of the immigrants came at the instance of relatives already settled in India.[5] Mirzā Najaf 'Alī (No.49) is reported to

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1. Lāhorī,II,pp. 367-68,399,505,627,679,756; Wāriṡ,pp.6, 126-127, 198, 257; Ṣāliḥ, II, pp. 402-418.
2. Wāriṡ, pp.175,194,206,289,306; Ṣāliḥ,III,p.456; M.U.,II, 30-32.
3. Bernier, op.cit., p. 4 and note.
4. Lāhorī,I(b),p.350;II,pp.4,336-7,404,422; Wāriṡ,255,306; Ṣāliḥ, III,p. 471.
5. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Muqīm came to India on the invitation of his elder brother,Ḥakīm Shamsa, who was then in the service of the Golkunda Kingdom, See Wāriṡ, p. 357.

have arrived in India a little before his father's death in 1648;[1] the father Qizilbāsh Khān Afshār (No. 6) being already in service. Muhammad Ibrāhīm (No. 60) who migrated to India in 1652 to seek employment in the Mughal Empire was the nephew (sister's son) of Hakīm Dāud Taqarrub Khān.[2] Similarly, Hakīm Sālih (No. 4), brother of Hakīm Fathullah Shīrāzī and Mirzā Muhammad (No. 43), son of Mīr Badīʿ Mashhadī came to India in 1637 and 1646 respectively presumably because their relatives were well established in India. It thus seems that the influx of Irānīs in the Mughal services was in large part a continuation of family immigration that had already begun much earlier.

The Irānī immigrants who came from the Deccan were almost invariably those who had carved out political careers in the Deccan Sultanates; and when they joined Mughal service, they came along with their families and large retinue which they had gathered there.

Though it is true that the Irānian immigrants were by and large of aristocratic extraction, it appears that the Mughals made a distinction between those who came with some administrative background and experience in civil and political

1. M.U., III, pp. 86-87.

2. Wāris, p. 198. Taqarrub Khān joined Mughal service in 1644 and in 1653 he was holding the mansab of 3,500/1000. See Appendix (No. 33).

matters, and those without it. Our evidence suggests clearly that the former were generally awarded higher ranks and offices.[1]

Another distinctive feature of the immigration during the reign of Shāhjahān is that we do not come across a single instance of a noble who came to India because of religious persecution in Irān as was often the case in the preceding period.[2] Almost all these immigrants were shī'as by faith. Apparently during this period the Ṣafavid rulers (Shāh Ṣafī and Shāh 'Abbās II) were primarily engaged in curbing the powers of the old Qizilbāsh aristocracies, creating a new military corps of the ghulāms (Qullars).[3] It was probably this factor which induced the elements out of favour at the court to migrate to India.

An important aspect of the Irānian reception in India is a lack of sectarian discrimination. The keepers of Shī'a shrines in Irān (No. 43) were obviously shī'ite theologians or at least members of families venerated by the shī'as. Yet for that very reason they received high honour at the court of Shāhjahān, who otherwise was quite fond of projecting himself as a resolute Sunnī sovereign.

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1. Cf. Appendix.
2. See Chapter I.
3. P.M. Holt and others (ed.) The Cambridge History of Islam, London, 1970, Vol. I, pp. 406-416.

APPENDIX

IRĀNIAN IMMIGRANTS RECEIVING MANṢABS AND HONOURS AT SHĀHJAHĀN'S COURT

D = coming through Deccan

S = Saiyid

Sl. No.	Name & title	Year of Migration.	Place of Origin/Clan	Former Status	Status in India Manṣab/Khil'at, In'ām/Appointment	Reference
1.	Saiyed Muḥammad Isfarāini	1628	Isfarāin(D)	S.Quṭubshāhi noble	1000 muhrs	Lāhorī,I(a) 204
2.	Darvesh Muḥammad	1628	(D)	'Ādil Shāhi noble	3000/2000	Lāhorī, 227
3.	Muḥammad Ḥusain Diānat Khān, Dashtbyāzi	1628	Dashtbyāz (Khurāsān)	Noble in Irān, Historian	2000/800;2,500/1,500/Bakhshi, Wāqi'a-nawis of the Deccan; Qil'adār of Ahmadnagar.	Lāhorī, 119, 205,258,320: M.U.,II,22-23.
4.	Hājī Muhammad Jān, Qudsī	1632	Mashhad	Poet	Khil'at, horse, Rs. 2000/=.	Lāhorī,I(a) 446-447; I(b),351; II, 504.
5.	Rustam Khān, Muqarrab Khān	1632	Circassian (D)	Nizām Shāhi commander	5000/5000;6000/6000(5000x2-3h)/ Governor of Kabul Māhi-Marātib.	Lāhorī,I(a), 378-79,394, 408.

6.	I'timād Khān, Qizilbāsh Khān Afshār	1632	Turkmān/ Erivān(D)	Father governor of Erivān; himself Ādil Shāhī general	2000/1000; 3000/ 3000(500x2-3h)/ Thānadār of Pathri Qil'adār of Ahmadnagar.	Lāhorī,I(a) 441,537; I(b),35,249; II,176,417; Ṣādiq Khān, f.25(b); Ṣāliḥ,III, 454.
7.	Īraj Khān s/o (No. 6)	1632	(D)		1500/1500; 2000/1500/ Faujdār of Jammu & Kangrah; Dārogha of artillery in the Deccan; Qil'adār of Ahmadnagar.	Wāriṣ,68, 243;Ṣāliḥ III, 458; Z.Kh.,III, 69-70.
8.	Mirzā Bahrām s/o (No.6)	1632	(D)		700/400/ Thānadār of Deval Kanu; Bakhshī of Shāhnawāz Khān's contingent in the Deccan.	Wāriṣ,68, 313;Z.Kh., III, 70; M.U.,III,87.
9.	Mirzā Rustam s/o (No.6)	1632	(D)		700/400; Faujdār of Sangamnir.	Wāriṣ,68; Z.Kh.,III, 70.

10.	Mirzā Hāshim s/o (No.6)	1632	(D)		A distinquished scholar and caligraphist.	Z.Kh.,III,71; M.U.,III, 87.
11.	Mirzā Jalālāi Ṭabāṭabāi	1634	Yazd	Learned scholar of Iṣfāhān.	Taken into imperial service.	Ṣāliḥ,III, 435-36.
12.	Mullā ʿAlāul Mulk, Fāẓil Khān.	1634	Tūn	Mathematician and Astronomer.	500/50;1000/100; 2000/200;/Mīr-i-Sāmān; Qilʿadār Agra 2000/500, 3000/600.	Lāhorī,II,310 491-92;Wāriṣ, 2,15,127.
13.	Ḥakīm Fatḥullah s/o Ḥakīm Abul Qāsim	1637	Shīrāz	Personal Physician of Imām Qulī Khān, governor of Fārs.	900/50; 1000/100 Imperial Physician.	Lāhorī,I(b). 350;II,422; Ṣāliḥ,II,430, III, 9.
14.	Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ B/o (No.13)	1637	Shīrāz	Physician	500/10	Lāhorī,II,4; Wāriṣ,255; Ṣāliḥ,II,265; III, 184.
15.	Abū Ṭālib Kalīm	1637	Hamadān (D)	Poet		Lāhorī,I(b), 353-56.

16.	Aḥmad Beg S/L Saif Khān	1638			Rs.8000/- In'ām	Lāhorī,II, 103.
17.	'Askarī S/L Saif Khān	1638			Rs.8000/-In'ām	Lāhorī,II, 103.
18.	Muḥammad Ḥusain B/o Mīr Fattāḥ	1639	Iṣfāhān	Father and elder brother chief gunners in Irān.	Khil'at,Rs.3000/- In'ām; Tuyūldār of Panaui & Kāshyāl;Qil'adār of Kangraḥ; Qil'adār of Taragarh.	Lāhorī,II, 122-23,432, 481;Wāriṣ, 77,208, Ṣāliḥ,III, 461-62.
19.	'Alī Mardān Khān Zīg, Amīr-ul Umarā'.	1639	Kurd	Governor of Qandahār	5000/5000;6000/ 6000;7000/7000 (5000x2-3h) Ṣūbedār of Kashmīr, Lahore; Kabul	Lāhorī,II,92, 123-26,222-23; Ṣādiq Khān ff. 49(b),50(a), 53(a),56(a).
20.	Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg,S/L(No.19)	1639	Kurd	Officer of(No.19) at Qandahār	1000/400;1000/500; 1500/1000;Tuzuk; Ākhtabegī;Ṣūbedār of Kashmīr; Faujdār of Miyān-ī-Doāb.	Lāhorī,II,141, 412,431,492; Wāriṣ,36,266.

21.	ʿAlī Beg Sulṭān S/L (No.19)	1639	Kurd	Officer of (No.19) at Qandahār.	Khilʿat, Rs.4000/-; 2000 ẕāt, Dy.Ṣūbedār of Kashmir.	Lāhorī,II,100, 130; Ṣādiq Khān,f.49(b).
22.	ʿAbdullah Beg S/o (No.19).	1639	Kurd	-	1000/500;1500/600; 1500/800; Deputed with No. 19.	Wāris̤,207,318, 370; Ṣāliḥ,III, 462.
23.	Ismāʿīl Beg S/o(No.19)	1639	Kurd	-	1000/300	Wāris̤,318,372.
24.	Ibrāhīm Beg S/o (No.19)	1639	Kurd	-	1000/500;1500/600; 2000/600;2000/800; 2500/1000.	Wāris̤,207,252, 257,320,370.
25.	Isḥāq Beg S/o (No.19)	1639	Kurd	-	1000/300	Wāris̤,318,372.
26.	Mihtar Yūsuf	1639	-	Officer of (No.19) at Qandahār	500/100	Lāhorī,II,628; Ṣāliḥ,II,514.

27.	Murshid Qulī Khān	1639	Turkmān	Officer of(No.19) at Qandahār	1000/400;1000/500; 1500/800;1500/1000; Dīwān of the Punjab, Multan; Mīr Ātish; Faujdār of Kangrah; Akhtabegi.	Lāhorī,II, 158,177,230, 331; Wāriṣ, 67,192,307, 308,323.
28.	Farrukh Beg	1642	Khurāsān	-	Rs.3000/-,Qil'adār of Fatḥābād(Kabul).	Lāhorī,II, 279,696; Ṣāliḥ,II,499.
29.	Ṣafī Qulī Siyāh Manṣūr	1643	Kurd/ Isfarāin	Governor of Isfarāin	1000/500,1000/700	Lāhorī,II, 352,361; Ṣāliḥ,II,395; AAA,I,335; II,1086.
30.	'Alī Qulī Khān	1643	Turkmān	Noble of Irān.	1000/500	Ṣādiq Khān, f.56(b).
31.	Ammī	1644	-	Poet	Khil'at,Rs.1000/- In'ām.	Lāhorī,II,361; Ṣāliḥ,II,398-99.
32.	Ilahvardī Beg	1644	-	-	Rs.4000/-In'ām.	Lāhorī,II,362.

33.	Ḥakīm Muḥammad Dāud, Taqarrub Khān.	1644	Iṣfāhān	Chief Physician of Shāh ʿAbbās I and Shāh Ṣafī.	1500/200; 2000/200; 2500/200; 2500/300; 3000/300; 3000/400; 3500/100; 4000/1000 Imperial Physician.	Lāhorī,II,367-68, 399,505,679,756; Wāriṣ,6,126,127, 198,257; Bernier, 100-101.
34.	Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān s/o(No.33)	1644	Iṣfāhān	Physician	800/150; 1000/-	Wāriṣ,320;Ṣāliḥ, III,475; ML,III, 625-27.
35.	Mīr Maḥmūd	1644	Iṣfāhān	S	500/50; Dārogha of branding; Bakhshī & Wāqiʿanawīs of Ahmadabad.	Lāhorī,II,406, 501; Wāriṣ,215, 360, Ṣāliḥ,III, 469.
36.	Muḥammad Hādī	1644			Rs.2000/- Inʿām	Lāhorī,II, 407.
37.	Mirzā Beg Mashhadī	1645	Mashhad		Rs.1000/-Inʿām	Lāhorī,II, 412.
38.	Muṣṭafá Qulī	1645		Employee of Jānī Khān, Qūrchībāshī of Irān.	Khilʿat, Rs.1500/- Inʿām	Lāhorī,II, 414.

39.	Muhammad Ja'afar S/L Sārū Taqī	1645	Māzandrān	Father-in-law Sārū Taqī was Wazīr of Irān	Rs.2000/- In'ām	Lāhorī,II,472; A.A.A.,II,1093
40.	Fath Khān s/o Jamshed Khān.	1645			1000/200	Sādiq Khān, f.63(a).
41.	'Alī Akbar Bāzargān s/o Hāji Kamāl	1646	Iṣfahān	Merchant settled in Gujarat.	500/100; Supt. of Surat and Khambayat ports.	Lāhorī,II,606-7.
42.	Imām Virdī s/o Jamshed Beg.	1646	Jām	Uncle Qalandar Sultān was governor of Jām.	Khil'at, Rs.5000/-In'ām.	Lāhorī,II,506; Wāriṣ, 238.
43.	Mirzā Muhammad s/o Mīr Badī' Mashhadī.	1646	Mashhad (S)	Ancestors guardian of shrine of Imām Rizā,Mashhad.	1000/400;1500/400; 1500/800;2000/100; Deputed with Prince Murād in the Deccan, with Shāhnawāz Khān in Malwa; Faujdār and Jāgirdār of Mandsor.	Lāhorī, II,509, 636; Wāriṣ,63, 68,126,138.

44.	'Ayin 'Alī	1646			Rs.4000/- In'ām	Lāhorī,II,577.
45.	Muḥammad Mūsā	1646	Kirmān	'Employee' of Jānī Khān, Qūrchī Bāshī of Irān.	Rs.6000/- In'ām; Promotion in the rank (not specified).	Lāhorī,II, 604-5, 679.
46.	Mīr Fazl Ullah	1647	Kirmān		Rs.6000/- In'ām	Lāhorī,II,637.
47.	Fīroz s/o governor of Ormuz.	1648	Ormuz	Father governor of Ormuz.	Rs.5000/- In'ām	Wāriṣ, 35-36.
48.	Mirzā Najaf 'Alī s/o (No.6).	1648	Turkmān/ Erivān	Ancestor governor of Irivān	Rs.1000/1000; Faujdār of Bālāpur(Berar); Qil'adār of Zafarnagar (Bālāghāt).	Wāriṣ,313, Z.Kh.,III,71, M.U.,III, 86-87.
49.	Ni'amat Ullah s/o governor of Ormuz	1648	Ormuz	Father governor of Ormuz	Rs.5000/- In'ām	Wāriṣ,35-36

50.	Mīr Muḥammad Hādī s/o Mīr Rafīʿ G/o Khalīfa Sulṭān	1648	S.Māzandarānī/ Iṣfahān	Father Ṣadr of Irān and Son-in-law of Shāh ʿAbbās I.	Rs.1000/- Inʿām ; Faujdār of Manjhwa.	Wāriṣ,58, 63,309; AAA,II, 928,1089, 1090,1091.
51.	Ḥasan Turkmān	1649	Turkmān/ Qandahār	Qūrchī in Irān	Khilʿat ,horse, Rs.2000/- Inʿām .	Wāriṣ,77.
52.	Mīr Sulṭān ʿArab	1649	ʿArab/Qandahār	Yūzbāshī		Wāriṣ, 114.
53.	Ṣafī Qulī	1649	Qandahār			Wāriṣ, 114.
54.	Āqā Momin	1650		Noted writer of Shāh ʿAbbās I's reign.	Khilʿat ,Rs.2000/- Ina'm.	Wāriṣ, 137.
55.	Mīr Ibrāhīm G/o Aḥmad Sulṭān Mahlī	1650		Noble of Shāh ʿAbbās I	500/60; Rs.3000/.Inʿām	Wāriṣ, 143.
56.	Saiyid Aḥmad ʿArab	1650	ʿArab		500/50	Wāriṣ,145.

57.	Mullā Shafī'ā, Dānishmand Khān	1650	Yazd	Scholar and Scientist	1000/100; 2000/100; 2000/200; 2000/300; 2000/400; 2500/600; 3000/600	Wāris, 175, 194, 206, [illegible], 306, 316; Ṣāliḥ, III, 456; I.U., II, 30-32.
58.	Imām Qulī Shāmlū	1651	Turkmān	Yūzbāshī	Rank; Khil'at, horse, Rs.5000/- Inām Qil'adār of Ẓafarnagar (Bālāghāt)	Wāris, 132, 284, 313.
59.	Muḥammad Salīm s/o Khwāja Beg	1652	Khurāsān	Father Wazīr of Khurāsān	Rank; Rs.2000/-In'ām; Wāqi'anigār of Kashmīr.	Wāris, 192, 199, 323.
60.	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, sister's son of Taqarrub Khān.	1652	Iṣfahān	Physician	Rank; Rs.2000/- In'ām.	Wāris, p. 198.
61.	Jān Beg s/o 'Abdullah Beg	1653			Khil'at, Rs.1000/- In'ām.	Wāris, 213.
62.	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm s/o Muḥammad Ṭāhir	1653	Iṣfahān	Wazīr of Auqāf in Iṣfahān	Rank; Khil'at, Rs.2000/- In'ām, 2nd bakhshī of Aḥadis; Bakhshī of Shāgird-pesha.	Wāris, 213, 215, 272.

63. Muhammad Amīn Shāmlū	1653	Turkmān/ Qandahār	Yūzbāshī at Qandahār	Rank; Rs.2000/-inām	Wāris,234.
64. Mīr Sālih s/o Khālāi Shāh Abbās I	1653	Māzandarān		900/200; Rs.5000/-cash.	Wāris,235.
65. Abdāl Beg s/o Qalandar Sultān	1653	Chaghtāī Turkmān/ Jām	Father Qalandar Sultān was governor of Jām.	Rank; Deputed with Prince Dara.	Wāris,238; A.A.A.,II, 1087.
66. Mirzā Iskandar Beg S/L(No.6)	1653	Turkmān/ Erivān	Father Qilādār of Mughāz burd	Rank and Jāgīr.	Z.Kh.,III, 72-75; M.U.,III,87.
67. Muhammad Beg	1653	Turkmān/ Herāt.	Ishik Āqāsī (Khān-i Sāmān) of Abbas Quli Khān, governor of Herāt.	Rank; Deputed with Prince Dara.	Wāris, 238.
68. Mīr Ja'afar Astarābādī	1654	Astarābād (D)	S.Husainī; Uncle Mīr Mohd. Momin Peshwa of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shāh; himself officer of Mohd. Amīn Qutub Shāh.	700/100; 1000/200; Dīwān-i Buyūtāt; Bakhshi & Waqia-i Nawīs of Deccan.	Wāris, 263, 293,332; Sālih,III, 189,202,469.

69.	Mīr Ja'afar Iṣfahānī sister's son of Khalifa Sultān	1655	Iṣfahān	Maternal uncle Khalīfa Sultān Wazīr of Irān and son-in-law of Shāh Abbās I.	1500/500; Rs.10,000/- Inām; Faujdār of Husainpur (Bihar).	Wāriṣ,286; Ṣāliḥ,III, 245.
70.	Mīr Saidī	1655	Iṣfahān	Poet	Rs.1000/- Inām.	Wāriṣ, 287.
71.	Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumla, Mu'azzam Khān Khān-i Khānān	1656	Ardistān (D)	S.noble, officer/general of Golconda, governor of Karnatak.	5000/5000, 6000/6000/Wazīr.	Wāriṣ,312, 346-47,350; M.U.,III, 530-55.
72.	Mīr Muhammad Amīn s/o (No.70), Khān	1656	Ardistān (D)		2000/2000;3000/2000; Dy.Wazīr; Mīr Bakhshī	Wāriṣ,312, 363,365; M.U.III, 613-20.
73.	Hakīm Abul Qāsim Shirāzī.	1656	Shirāz	Physician	500/40; Rs.3000/- Inām, taken into imperial service.	Wāriṣ,350
74.	Hakīm Muhammad Muqīm B/o Hakīm Shamsa	1656		Elder brother Hakim Shamsa in the service of Golconda kingdom	500/- zāt.	Wāriṣ,257.

CHAPTER - THREE

IMMIGRATION FROM IRĀN UNDER AURANGZEB.

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IMMIGRATION FROM IRĀN UNDER AURANGZEB

During Aurangzeb's reign there appears to have been a marked decline in the number of Irānian immigrants, though the broad pattern of their immigration remained the same as in the reign of Shāhjahān. As before we find that many of the immigrants themselves or their ancestors had held important offices under their previous masters in Irān or in the Deccan before joining Mughal service. Similarly, some scholars, poets and physicians of repute also came to India and were given posts in the Mughal nobility. Though the number of Irānians, coming direct from Irān, declined, they could still maintain their majority in the Mughal ruling class because of the influx of the Irānīs from the Deccan. The decline of the direct migration may have been due partly to the decline of the Ṣafavid Empire and partly to Aurangzeb's continuous engagement in the Deccan affairs which naturally lessened his interest in the situation on the north-west.[1] It is also likely that owing to the continuous engagement of Mughal forces in the Deccan, large-scale recruitment of the Deccanīs and the consequent pressure on the limited resources

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1. Mughal Nobility, op.cit., p. 17.

of the Empire, might have reduced the opportunities for Irānians directly coming from the homeland.

A list of immigrants is given in the Appendix to this chapter based on the major sources of Aurangzeb's reign. The number within brackets after each name to be mentioned in the text of this chapter refers to the serial numbers given to the person concerned in the Appendix.

An analysis of the table suggests certain interesting features regarding the nature and type of the immigrants in comparison to the preceding period. So far as the nature of immigration is concerned, it is worth observing that none of the immigrants seems to have made his way to India as a result of being forced to leave the country by growing political instability. Such as came in search of employment generally had their relatives in India with important positions.

As regards the type of immigrants it appears that unlike Shāhjahān's reign the number of poets, scholars, scientists and physicians experienced a marked decline in this period. During Shāhjahān's reign as many as 16 out of 74 i.e. 21.6 per cent of the total immigrants belonged to this category while under Aurangzeb only two are known out of 41 total immigrants i.e. only 4.8 per cent.[1] It may be

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1. See Appendix, Nos. 1 and 21.

pointed out that these two were scholars; not a single physician or scientist came to India under Aurangzeb, whereas during the preceding period out of 16 immigrants belonging to category of intellectuals seven were physicians of repute and two were scientists, mathematician and astronomers.[1] Secondly, very few of the immigrants from Irān came without any family-connections during this period; nineteen out of 36 are known to have belonged to families branches of which had already come and settled in India. We may take as an example the family of Khalīfa Sulṭān, the Wazīr of Irān, offers example of such immigrants.[2] Mīr Muḥammad Hādī, a great grandson of Khalīfa Sulṭān and Mīr Ja'far Iṣfahānī, Khalīfa Sulṭān's sister's son had already settled in India during Shāhjahān's reign.[3] Among others mention may be made of Muḥammad Amīn Beg (No. 8), son-in-law of Zūlfiqār Khān, Isfandyār (No. 10), a cousin of Asad Khān, Burhānuddīn (No.13), nephew of Fāẓil Khān Tūnī, Muḥammad ʿAlī Beg (No. 19), son of ʿAlī Mardān Khān, and Mīr Maḥmūd (No. 20), brother of Mirzā Muḥammad Mashhadī Aṣālat Khān.

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1. These were Mullā Shafī'ā Dānishmand Khān and Mullā 'Alā-ul Mulk Tūnī Fāẓil Khān. For others see Chapter Second, Appendix, Nos. 13,14,33,34,60, 73 and 74.

2. See Appendix, Nos, 4,5,15, 22-24, 27, 33 and 37.

3. See Chapter Second, Appendix, Nos 50 and 69.

Most immigrants coming directly from Irān did not succeed in obtaining very high ranks. The only exception seems to be the members of Khalīfa Sulṭān's family, and even in this family only a very few who were direct descendants of Khalīfa were awarded high manṣabs on their arrival in India. Mīr 'Imād (No. 5), a sister's son of Khalīfa Sulṭān was given the rank of 1000/200 together with khil'at and a cash award of Rs. 12,000/-,[1] Mīr Qiwāmuddīn Khān (No. 22), a brother of Khalīfa Sulṭān, was granted the rank of 3000/1,500, a khil'at and Rs. 10,000/- as in'ām and his son Mīr Ṣadruddīn (No. 23) was awarded a manṣab of 700/100 and was later appointed Mīr Ātish with the title of Ṣaf Shikan Khān.[2] A grandson of Khalīfa Sulṭān, Mīr 'Alī Naqī (No. 37), was granted the manṣab of 4000/2000 and was awarded a khil'at and Rs. 10,000/- as in'ām when he came to the court.[3] Those who were not the direct descendants of Khalīfa Sulṭān, such as his sons-in-law, Mīr Hidāyat ullah (No.4) and Saiyid Ṣadr-i Jahān (No. 15), were given at the most

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1. Muḥammad Kāẓim, 'Ālamgīr Nāma, ed. Maulavīs Khādim Husain and 'Abdul Hai, Calcutta, 1868-73, pp. 486-87. (Hereafter see Kāẓim).

2. Ṣāqī Musta'id Khān, Ma'āṣir-i 'Ālamgīrī, Calcutta, 1871, pp. 130, 240 (hereafter cited as M.A.), cf. M.U. II, 746; III, 109.

3. Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī, Tārīkh-i Aurangzeb, OR. MS. 1671, f. 193(b) (hereafter see Ma'mūrī).

a cash award of Rs. 5000/-, a khil'at and probably a small rank.[1] Similarly, a son-in-law of Ṣaf Shikan Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Rafī' (No. 33), was granted a khil'at when he arrived here.[2]

Another noticeable feature is the continuing crucial importance of family background of immigrants,[3] as against this experience and abilities were not a sure passport to rank. Muẓaffar Beg Kirmānī (No. 11) who had been Wazīr of Kirmān before coming to India was not given any rank but only a cash award of Rs. 5000/-.[4]

As against this the members of Khalīfa Sulṭān's family were recepients of high ranks and important posts at the Mughal court on account of their being the descendants of a highly reputed aristocratic family of Irān.[5] Mirzā Ṣafavī Khān 'Alī Naqī (No. 40), a grandson (by daughter) of Shāh 'Abbās II, was awarded the rank of 3000/1000[6] obviously because he belonged to the royal family of Irān.

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1. Kāẓim op.cit, pp. 473, 851-52; M.A., p. 270.
2. M.A., p. 270; also see Appendix, No. 33.
3. See Chapter Two.
4. Kāẓim, p. 743.
5. See Appendix, Nos. 5, 22, 23, 27 and 37.
6. M.A., p. 482; Cf. M.U., III, pp. 653-54.

It is significant that a large number of immigrants who came direct from Irān during this period were those whose relatives had been in the Mughal service and it can be presumed that they came at the invitation of their relatives. Muḥammad Amīn Beg (No. 8), was son-in-law of Ẕūlfiqār Khān; Isfandyār (No. 10), a cousin of Asad Khān; Burhānuddīn (No. 13), the nephew of Fāẓil Khān Tūnī; Muḥammad ʿAlī Beg (No. 19), son of ʿAlī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā', Mīr Maḥmūd (No. 20), brother of Aṣālat Khān Mirzā Muḥammad Mashhadī; Ḥājī Muḥammad Rafīʿ (No. 33), son-in-law of Ṣaf Shikan Khān; and Mukaramat Khān Muḥammad Manṣūr (No. 34), a grandson of Mahābat Khān Ḥaiderābādī.[1] All of these persons migrated to India with the expectation of getting high manṣabs at the Mughal Court.

As for the Deccanī immigrants of Irānian origin Aurangzeb's policy seems to have been more liberal as compared to Shāhjahān, and more liberal still from 1682 onwards when Aurangzeb's long process of total annexation of the whole of the Deccan began. A substantial number of

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1. See Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā' for lives of Ẕūlfiqār Khān (M.U. II, 89-93), Asad Khān (M.U.,I, 310-21), Fāẓil Khān Tūnī (M.U., III, 524-30), ʿAlī Mardān Khān (M.U., II, 795-807), Aṣālat Khān (M.U., I, 222-5), Ṣaf Shikan Khān (M.U.,II, 746-7), Mahābat Khān Ḥaiderābādī (M.U.,III, 627-32).

the Deccanī nobles had then to be taken into service.[1] The list in Appendix can not pretend to be complete as we do not know of the racial grouping of many of the Deccani officers. Thus the rather small number of the Irānī-Deccanīs (8 out of 41) does not probably represent the true position, since a number of Irānian Deccanī nobles may have been excluded from our list.

The Deccanī nobles, whether Irānī or other, were given high grants quite generously. In 1688, the Deccanī recruits holding upto 1000 zāt ranks were also exempted from providing security bonds.[2] It may, however, be pointed out that during Aurangzeb's reign the official definition for the term, Deccanī was that all the nobles, whether of Indian or foreign origin, who, before joining the Mughal service, had served under either of the Deccanī Kingdoms (Bijapur and Golconda) were to be treated as Deccanīs. They were subject to one-fourth deduction from their pay claims as against those foreigners who directly joined the Mughal service in the Deccan after their arrival there. These

1. On the basis of Jamā dāmī statistics, M. Athar Ali has drawn the conclusion that while the share of the Mughal Provinces of the Deccan in the Jamā dāmī of the Empire between 1667 and 1691 increased only by 35.5 per cent the proportion of the Deccani nobles between 1658-78 and 1679-1707 rose by 136.5 per cent. See **Mughal Nobility**, p. 28.

2. Yusuf Husain Khan (ed.), Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign 1659-1706 A.D., Central Records Office, Hyderabad, 1958, p. 182. (hereafter cited as S.D.A.).

direct entrants were exempted from this deduction.[1] After the annexation of Golkonda (1687), Ṣāqī Musta'id Khān writes that a separate volume would be required to give details of the coming of Ḥaiderābādīs to the Mughal court, their joining imperial service and receiving manṣabs from 7000 to 500 ẕāt.[2] This influx of the 'upstart' Deccanīs, in the later years of Aurangzeb, and their increasing ranks and numbers over the old manṣabdārs caused much resentment among the older nobility - the Khānazāds.[3] Saiyid Sulṭān Karbalāī (No. 14), an officer of Golkonda, was awarded the rank of 1500/600, a khil'at and Rs. 12,000/- as in'ām on his arrival at the Mughal Court in 1663.[4] Mīr Ḥusainī 'Alī Mardān Khān Ḥaiderābādī (No. 35) and Muṣṭafā Khān ʿAbdur Razzāq Lārī (No. 36) were granted the manṣabs of 5000/5000 and 5000/3000 respectively on their joining service in 1688.[5] It is significant that ʿAbdur Razzāq Lārī unwillingly joined Mughal service while 'Alī Mardān Khān had deserted the service of Golkonda.[6]

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1. S.D.A., p. 64.
2. M.A., p. 302.
3. Ma'amūrī, ff. 156(b)-157(a); Cf. Nobility, pp. 28-29.
4. Kāẓim, pp. 840, 843; M.U., III, p. 619-20.
5. M.A., p. 396; Ma'amūrī, ff. 177(a), 178(a); K.K., op.cit, p. 373; also see M.U., II, p. 824.
6. M.A., p. 364; Ma'amūrī, ff. 177(a), 184(b), 186(b); K.K., II, 404-5; M.U., II, 824-5.

Perhaps the most significant of the Deccanī immigrants was Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Mahābat Khān Ḥaiderābādī (No. 32). He was the Commander-in-chief of the Golkonda Kingdom before his arrival at the Mughal court in 1687. He was granted a manṣab of 7000/6000.[1] He was perhaps the first among the Deccanī immigrants of Aurangzeb's reign to be awarded such a high rank on the very day of his arrival. This reflects Aurangzeb's policy of granting ranks generously to the Deccanī nobles in order to win them over to his side.[2]

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1. M.A., p. 269; Ma'amūrī, f. 172(b); K.K., II, pp. 305-6; M.U., III, pp. 627-8.

2. Ma'amūrī, ff. 156(b) - 157(a); K.K., II, p. 396.

APPENDIX

IRĀNIAN IMMIGRANTS RECEIVING MANṢABS AND HONOURS AT AURANGZEB'S COURT

Sl. No.	Name & Title	Year of Migration	Place of Origin/ Clan	Former Status	Status in India Manṣab/Khil'at, In'ām/Appointment.	Reference
1.	Mullā Muḥammad Ṣādiq	1659-60	-	Scholar	Rs.1000/-In'ām	'Ālamgīrnāma, 448-49.
2.	Mīr Muzaffar Ḥusain s/o Ibn Ḥasan Khān Fīroz Jung	1659-60			Rank; Khil'at; Rs.2,500/-In'ām	'Ālamgīrnāma, 463.
3.	Mīr Ibn Ḥusain S/o Ibn Ḥasan Khān Fīroz Jung	1659-60			Rank; Khil'at; Rs.2,500/- In'ām	'Ālamgīrnāma, 463.
4.	Mīr Hidāyatullah S/L Khalīfa Sulṭān	1659-60	Iṣfahān		Rs.5000/- In'ām.	'Ālamgīrnāma, 473.
5.	Mīr 'Imād sister's son of Khalīfa Sulṭān	1659-60	Isfahan		1000/200; Khil'at; horse; Rs.12,000/- In'ām.	'Ālamgīrnāma, 486-87.

6.	Mīr Ibrāhīm N/o Mīr Ḥasan of Qā'in.	1659-60	Qā'in		Rs.6000/- In'ām	'Ālamgīrnāma, 487.
7.	Mīr Tālib N/o Mīr Ḥasan Qā'inī	1659-60	Qā'in		Rs.6000/- In'ām.	'Ālamgīrnāma, 487.
8.	Muḥammad Amīn Beg, S/L Zūlfiqār Khān	1659-60	-		Khil'at; Rs.3000/- In'ām.	'Ālamgīrnāma, 567; M.U.,II, 93.
9.	Mīr Abu Tālib Mashhadī	1660-61	Mashhad		Rank; Khil'at; Rs.5000/- In'ām.	'Ālamgīrnāma, 594-95.
10.	Isfandyār c/o Asad Khān	1660-61	-		Rank; Khil'at.	'Ālamgīrnāma, 595.
11.	Muẓaffar Beg Kirmānī	1661-62	Kirmān	Wazīr of Kirmān	Khil'at; Rs.5000/- In'ām.	'Ālamgīrnāma, 743.

12.	Mīr Ibrāhīm Mazandrānī	1661-62	Māzandrān		*Khil'at*; Rs.2000/- *Ina'm*.	*'Ālamgīrnāma*, 743.
13.	Burhānuddīn N/o Fāẓil *Khān* Tūnī	1662-63	Tūn		800/150; *Khil'at*	*'Ālamgīrnāma*, 818,833-34; *M.A.*,47;*M.U.*, III,34-35.
14.	Saiyid Sulṭān Karbalāī S/L Muḥammad Amīn *Khān* s/o Mīr Jumla	1663-64	D./S. of Karbalā	Officer of Golconda Kingdom.	1500/600;*Khil'at*; Rs.12000/-.	*'Ālamgīrnāma*, 840, 843.
15.	Saiyid Ṣadr-i Jahān S/L *Kh*alifa Sulṭān	1663-64	Iṣfahān/S.		Rank; *Khil'at*.	*'Ālamgīrnāma*, 851-52.
16.	Mulla Ḥaider 'Alī S/L Mulla 'Abdullah Shūstarī	1663-64	Shūstar		*Khil'at*; Rs.2000/- *Ina'm*; an allowance.	*'Ālamgīrnāma*,861.
17.	Muḥammad Sharīf S/L A'ẓam *Khān*	1663-64	-		*Khil'at*;Rs.2000/- *Ina'm*.	*'Ālamgīrnāma*,863.

18.	Mullā ʿAbdullah S/o Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī	1665-66			Rank; Khilʿat; Rs.2000/-Inʿām.	ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 918.
19.	Muḥammad ʿAlī Beg S/o ʿAlī Mardān Khān, Amīr-ul Umarā.	1671-72	Qandahār/ Kurd		2000/2000;Khilʿat; Rs.10,000/-	M.A.,109,110.
20.	Mīr Maḥmūd B/o Aṣālat Khān	1671-72	Mashhad/S.		1000/400;Rs.7000/-	M.A.,109-110; M.U.,I,222-25.
21.	Mūsavī Khān, Mirzā Muʿizz s/o Mirzā Fakhrā.	1671-72	Mashhad/S	Scholar,Poet (Fiṭrat)	Rank	M.A.,337,338; M.U.,III,633-36; T.M., 2.
22.	Mīr Qiwāmuddīn B/o Khalīfa Sulṭān	1673-74	Iṣfahān/S	Ṣadr of Irān	3000/1500; Khilʿat;Rs.10,000/- Inʿām.	M.A.,130; M.U.,III,109-111; Cf.K.K.,II,256-57.
23.	Mīr Ṣadruddīn Ṣafshikan Khān S/o (No. 22).	1673-74	Iṣfahān/S		700/100; Khilʿat.	M.A.,130; M.U.,II, 746-47.

24.	Mukhlis Khān S/o (No.23)	1673-74	Iṣfahān/S.			M.U.III,641
25.	Mīr Afẓal, Muqtadavī (or Mahtavī)Khān	1674-75	Tūn		Dīwān of Gawalior	M.U.,III, 801-806.
26.	Mīr Muhammad Rafī',Mubāriz-ul-Mulk,Sar-Buland Khān Bahādur, Dilāwar Jang S/o(No.25)	1674-75	Tūn		Rank	M.U.,III, 801-806.
27.	Muhammad Shujā' S/o (No.22)	1676-77	Iṣfahān/S		1000/300	M.A.,153; M.U.,III, 114-115.
28.	Saiyid Muẓaffar	1682-83	D./S. of Iṣfahān	Wazīr of Golconda (A relative of Khalīfa Sulṭān)	Khil'at, etc.	M.A.227;Cf. K.K.II,311-13.
29.	Mīr Hāshim s/o (No.28)	1682-83	D./S. of Iṣfahān			K.K.,II, 293,313.

30.	Aṣālat Khān S/o(No. 28)	1682-83	D./S. of Iṣfahān		Manṣab-i ʿUmda	M.A.,227.
31.	Najābat Khān S/o(No.28)	1682-83	D./S. of Iṣfahān		Manṣab-i ʿUmda	M.A.,227.
32.	Husainī Beg Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khalīlullah Khān Mahābat Khān Ḥaiderābādi.	1685-86	D.	Sipahsālār of Quṭubul Mulk	7,000/6,000	M.A.,269; Maʾamūrī,f.172b; K.K.,II,335; M.U.,III,627-28.
33.	Hājī Muḥammad Rafīʿ S/L Saf Shikan Khān (No.23)	1685-86	-		Khilʿa't	M.A., 270.
34.	Muḥammad Manṣūr Makramat Khān G/o Mahābat Khān Haiderābādi (No. 32).	1686-87	-		1,500/1,000	M.A.,303; M.U.,III, 632.
35.	Mīr Husainī, ʿAlī Mardān Khān Ḥaiderābādi	1686-87	D.	Officer of Quṭubul Mulk	5000/5000	M.A.,364; M.U.,II,824-25

36.	Muṣṭafá Khān, ʿAbdur Razzāq Lārī	1688-89	D	Officer of Quṭubul Mulk	4000/3000	K.K.,II,373; Cf.Ma'amūrī, ff. 178(a); M.U.,II,818-21.
37.	Mīr ʿAlī Naqī G/o Khalīfa Sulṭān	1695-96	Iṣfahān/S.		4000/2000; Rs.2000/-Ināʿm.	Ma'amūrī,f. 193(b); K.K.,II,456.
38.	ʿAbbās Qulī S/o Ilah Qulī Beg	1695-96	Dāghistān		Khilʿat; Rank; copy of Quran etc.	Akhbārāt,39RY, 8 Rajab,p.160; 40 R.Y.18 Ramẓān, p. 27.
39.	Rustam Beg Charkas	1698-99	Circassian		Qilʿadār of Mangalbedah.	M.A., 403.
40.	ʿAlī Naqī,Mirzā Ṣafavī Khān	1703-1704	-		3000/1000;Khilʿat.	M.A.,482; M.U.,III,653-54.
41.	Muhammad Muhsin N/o (No. 40)	1705-06	-		-	M.A.,513.

CHAPTER FOUR

POSITION OF ĪRĀNĪS AS MANṢAB HOLDERS

(a) SHĀHJAHĀN

Lāhorī and Muḥammad Wāriṡ give us the only official lists of manṣabdārs of Shāhjahān's reign, holding ranks of 500 ẕāt and above. Lāhorī provides two separate lists of manṣabdārs, at the close respectively of the 10th and 20th regnal years. Wāriṡ gives the corresponding list for the 30th year. These three lists give the names of manṣabdārs, both alive and dead, during the preceding decade arranged according to ranks last held by them.[1] There is no doubt about the general authenticity of Lāhorī's lists, but they are not free from slips. In a few instances, the names of manṣabdārs who had been successively promoted during a decade have been repeated under different ranks, one held before and the other after promotions. Wāriṡ's list seems more accurate for there is no case of such repetitions here. Lāhorī's two lists respectively contain the names of 189 and 213 manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above, alive at the terminal point while Wāriṡ lists a total of 240 manṣabdārs of the same ranks, similarly alive at the end of the third decade.

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1. Lāhorī, I(b) pp. 292-328; II, pp. 717-752; Wāriṡ, Bādshāhnāma, Ethe, 329, ff. 259(a)-272(a). I am indebted to Prof. M. Athar Ali for providing me this list.

These three lists are supplemented by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh. Ṣāliḥ's list which is apparently based on the lists of Lāhorī and Wāriṣ and gives the names and last ranks of all the manṣabdārs of Shāhjahān's reign, whether dead or alive. Of these 245 manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above, were alive at the end of Shāhjahān's reign. Ṣāliḥ must have some other source for adding new appointments and promotions made in the last three (lunar) years of Shāhjahān's reign.[1] His list, however, contains many omissions. Thus certain names which occur in Wāriṣ's list are missing in Ṣāliḥ's.

To analyse these lists the manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above, alive at the terminal point of each of the lists, have been taken into account: Only such high manṣabdārs were entitled to be called umarā' (nobles).[2] As regards the classification of various racial groups, such as Irānīs, Tūrānīs, Afghāns, Shaikhzādas, Rājpūts, Marāthās, 'other Muslims' and 'other Hindūs', the system adopted by M. Athar Ali has been followed here. The last group 'other Hindus', includes all Hindus except the Rājpūts and Marāthas. 'Other Muslims' include Abyssinians, 'Arabs and the Muslims whose racial affiliations could not be established.

1. Ṣāliḥ, III, pp. 448-470. Cf. Mughal Nobility, op.cit., p.8.

2. Mughal Nobility, p.7.

At the outset an attempt has been made to work out the numerical strength of different racial groups in the nobility during the three decades of Shāhjahān's reign separately. Then we shall try to establish the numerical strength of Irānīs belonging to different regions such as those of Qandahār, Iṣfahān, Tehrān, Mashhad, Qazwīn and Khawāf.

Now coming to the analysis of our data it appears that there were 189 manṣabdārs of 1000 ẓāt and above (excluding Princes) in the first decade of Shāhjahān's reign of which 153 (i.e. 80.9%) were Muslims and 36 (i.e. 19%) were Hindus. Of the Muslims 63 were Irānīs, 37 Tūrānīs, 20 Afghāns, 15 Indian Muslims and 18 Other Muslims. Thus the groups respectively 33.3%, 19.5%, 10.5%, 7.9% and 9.5% of the total number of manṣabdārs. This shows that Irānīs enjoyed the highest position, being the largest group, among manṣabdārs of 1000 ẓāt and above during the first decade.

An analysis of the racial composition with a further breakdown of ranks at the end of the first decade may be of some interest. If we establish three categories, viz., (a) 5000 ẓāt and above; (b) 3000 to 4000 ẓāt and (c) 1000 to below 3000, we can further see how these ranks were held. Out of 20 total manṣabdārs in category (a) in the first decade as many as 10 were

Irānīs, that is, 50% as against Tūrānīs 20%, and Indian Muslims 10% (no Afghān and 'Other Muslim' falling in this category). Rājpūt and Marātha mansabdārs together (4 in number) occupied a position equal to that of the Tūrānīs. In category (b), however, out of 44 mansabdārs 13 were Irānīs, that is 29.5%, as against Tūrānīs 7(15.9%), Afghāns 3(6.8%), Indian Muslims 4(9%) and 'Other Muslims' 6(13.6%). Rājpūts and Marāthas respectively numbered 6 and 5 and together constituted 25% of the total number of mansabdārs of category (b). Similarly, in category (c) the Irānīs enjoyed roughly the same position as in (b); they numbered 40 or 32% out of the total of 125 mansabdārs. This compares with Tūrānīs 26(20.8%), Afghāns 17(13.6%), Indian Muslims 9(7.2%) and 'Other Muslims' 12(9.6%). Rājpūts equalled the Afghāns in number. Thus it appears that during the first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign the Irānīs formed not only the largest group, but they occupied a still better position in the highest ranks than was warranted by their numbers in medium and lower ranks of the umarā' or nobility (see Table-1).

At the end of the second decade there were 160 Muslim mansabdārs and 53 Hindus or 75.1% and 24.8% respectively, out of a total of 213 mansabdārs of 1000 zāt and above. Out of the Muslim mansabdārs, as many

as 62 were Irānīs, that is, 29.1% of the total mansabdārs. Among the three categories already defined, they constituted 42.8%, 39.5% and 24.1% respectively, thus still accounting for higher proportions in the highest ranks. Their position may be compared with that of the Tūrānīs who were 19% in category (a), 11.6% in (b) and 19.4% in category (c), while the Rājpūts were respectively 19%, 9.3%, and 20.1%. In the over-all composition Rājpūts, numerically, equalled the Tūrānīs and constituted the second largest group in the nobility at the end of the second decade. Interestingly enough, in category (b), Marāthas appear to have exceeded all the racial groups except the Irānīs and thus they now formed the second largest group in category (b). (see Table-2).

At the end of the third decade, as Table-3 shows, out of 240 mansabdārs of 1000 zāt and above, 184 or 76.6% were Muslims and 56 or 23.3% were Hindus. Among Muslims the Irānīs again formed the largest group, being 80 or 33.3% of the total number of mansabdārs. In the three categories as well, the Irānīs are found occupying a dominant position respectively numbering 58.8%, 31.8% and 31.2% of the total number of mansabdārs in these categories. Again, as in the 10th year, they are seen to form the majority at the top, while in the medium and lower levels, they account for a third of the nobles.

Their position compares with Tūrānīs who were 17.6% in category (a), 15.9% in (b) and 19.5% in category (c), while the Rājpūts were respectively 17.6%, 25% and 17.3%.

On the whole it may be inferred that in the 10th year, a ratio of 80% and 20% was maintained between Muslim and Hindu mansabdārs but in the last two decades a ratio of the proportion of the Hindus had risen to about 25%. Our tables show that Rājpūts numbered 13.7% in the 10th year while in the 20th and 30th years of Shāhjahān's reign, they numbered 17.8% and 18.7% respectively. Significantly enough, the Rājpūts became numerically equal to Tūrānīs in the last two decades while in the first decade they were distinctly fewer. Although there was a general decline of Muslim mansabdārs at the end of the second decade. Indian Muslims are exceptionally found to have attained a sharp rise in their position as compared to the 10th year. Finally, Irānīs enjoyed throughout a more dominant position in the category of mansabdārs of highest ranks in comparison with their position in the two lower categories.

As far as Irānīs belonging to different regions are concerned a decade-wise analysis is offered to see which regions benefitted most from Imperial favour. At the end of the first decade, out of 63 total Irānian

mansabdārs of 1000 zāt and above, the Harvīs (from Herāt) were the most numerous single group (i.e.12.69%), while the Mashhadīs (from Mashhad) (11.11%) came next. Those from Qazwīn, at 9.52%, occupied the third place followed by the Shīrāzīs and Tehrānīs, each accounting for 7.93% in the total number of the Irānian mansabdārs. Such Irānīs, as cannot be identified according to their native places (including those from ʿIrāq and Khurāsān) numbered 17.46% (see Table-4).

At the end of the second decade the Qandahārīs had risen to prominence. They comprised about 12.9% of the total of 62 Irānian mansabdārs of 1000 zāt and above. It may be suggested that the Qandahārīs achieved such a higher proportion among the Irānīs probably because of the Kurds who having migrated from Qandahār, under ʿAlī Mardān Khān Zīg, entered the Mughal service at the beginning of the second decade of Shāhjahān's reign.[1] The Mashhadis now occupied the second place constituting 11.29% while the Harvīs, Shīrāzīs and Tehrānīs came next as each of them constituted 8.06% of the total Irānian mansabdārs. The unspecified Irānīs numbered nearly 21%. Among the smaller, but important groups, to mention a few, were those of Qazwīn (6.45%), Yazd (4.83%), Isfahān and Kāshān (3.22% each).[2]

1. For ʿAlī Mardān Khān's career see my article "Ali Mardan Khan - A great Iranian noble of Shahjahan", PIHC, Burdwan, 1983, pp.198-210; also chapter 6 section II, infra, pp. 288-307.

2. See Table-5.

At the end of the third decade the Qandahāris remained much the largest group in the Irānian nobility. They numbered 12.5% of the total 80 Irānian mansabdārs of 1000 zāt and above. The Harvis occupied the second place (10%) and Yazdis the third (8.75%), followed by the Mashhadis (7.5%). Among the smaller groups mention may be made of Shirāzis and Tehrānis (5% each) and the Qazwinis (3.75%).[1]

A rather large proportion has here to be allowed for the Irānis, whose native places are not ascertained, the proportion being 2?.5%.

We thus see that among the Irānis certain regional groups tended to be more prominent than others. Of such groups, to mention the Harvis and Mashhadis were the most consistently important. At the end of the first decade the Harvis and at the end of the second decade and of the third decade, the Qandahāris formed the single largest groups among the Irānis. The Mashhadis were the second largest group in the 10th and 20th year, while in the 30th year the Harvis occupied this position. As regards the third largest group, Qazwinis occupied this place at the end of the first decade, the Harvis, Shirāzis and Tehrānis at the end of the second and the Yazdis in the

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1. See Table-6.

third decade. Similarly, at the end of the first decade Shīrāzīs and Tehrānīs formed the fourth largest group, replaced by the Qazwīnīs by the 20th year and Mashhadīs by the 30th. Thus, it appears that except for the Yazdīs, who attained some prominence in the last decade only, all the above mentioned Irānian groups any how remained the large and dominant groups among Irānians throughout the reign of Shāhjahān. It is also noteworthy that during the entire period the two groups - Shīrāzī and Tehrānī numerically enjoyed about the same position.[1]

A decade-wise statistical data of mansabs held by different racial groups, including Irānīs from different regions, may permit us to have another vantage point for examining their position. In the main, there are three separate tables, each for the end of a decade, showing a category-wise break up of mansabs held by different racial groups. Each table lists mansabs of 1000 zāt and above, held by the mansabdārs who were alive at the end of the decade. The ranks of Princes have not been taken into account. Thus the total number of mansabs, in the three decades, comes as follows:

1. See Tables 4, 5, and 6.

10th year		20th year		30th year	
<u>z̤āt</u>	<u>sawār</u>	<u>z̤āt</u>	<u>sawār</u>	<u>z̤āt</u>	<u>sawār</u>
4,54,500	3,63,550	4,67,000	3,80,800	4,97,500	3,72,950

These figures vary from those given by M. Athar Ali[1] and from those given by Irfan Habib for the first ten years only[2], even after excluding the ranks of princes which they have included. At the end of the first decade, out of a total of 4,54,500/3,63,550 ranks the Muslim <u>manṣabdārs</u> held 3,68,000/3,01,750 or 80.96% of the total <u>z̤āt</u> and 83.0% of the total <u>sawār</u> ranks. The Irānīs alone held 36.52% and 36.11% respectively of the total <u>z̤āt</u> and <u>sawār</u> ranks. Thus, the Irānīs held **highest** number of ranks during first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign, followed by the Tūrānīs who accounted for 19.03% of the total <u>z̤āt</u> and 21.42% of the total <u>sawār</u> ranks. The ranks held by Hindu <u>manṣabdārs</u> totalled 19.03% (<u>z̤āt</u>)and 16.99% (<u>sawār</u>). Afghāns and 'Other Muslims' held an almost equal number of ranks as they both respectively accounted for 8.47/7.56% and 8.36/7.19% of the <u>z̤āt</u> and <u>sawār</u> ranks. Indian Muslims shared, a little more than Afghāns and 'Other Muslims', 8.58/10.70% of the <u>z̤āt</u> and <u>sawār</u> ranks.

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1. Cf. Apparatus, <u>op. cit</u>., p. XIV.
2. Cf. 'The <u>Manṣab</u> System, 1595-1637', <u>PIHC</u>, 1967, p.244.

Category-wise too, the Irānīs are found to have held the highest number of ranks in each category, claiming highest in category (a) i.e. 51.85% and 49.24% respectively of the total 1,08,000 z̤āt and 1,32,000 sawār ranks. In category (b) they possessed 30.66% of the total z̤āt and 26.47% of the total sawār ranks; and in category (c) 32.56% and 30.49% respectively. In each category the Tūrānīs were the second highest claimant of ranks, holding 20.37% and 23.48% in category (a), 17.33% and 20% in category (b) and 19.59% and 20.46% in category (c). In categories (a) and (b) Rājpūts occupied the third place but in category (c) they were superseded by the Afghāns.[1]

At the end of the second decade, there was an over-all increase in the ranks of Hindu manṣabdārs. They possessed 23.44% and 23.17% respectively of the total of 4,67,000 z̤āt and 3,80,800 sawār ranks. This was a rise of more than 4% in the z̤āt and 6% in the sawār ranks over the decade. While the ranks of the Muslim manṣabdārs suffered a decline at the corresponding rate over their previous ones, as they held now 76.55% of the total z̤āt and 76.82% of the total sawār ranks. But the Irānīs still held highest number of

1. See Table-7.

ranks, claiming 32.86% of the total zāt and 33.63% of the sawār ranks; though it was a decline by 3.66% in the zāt and 2.48% in the sawār rank over their previous ones in the preceding decade. A category-wise analysis of the mansab statistics reveals a trend of a general fall in the ranks of Muslim mansabdārs except those of the Irānīs in category (b) and Indian Muslims in category (c). In category (c) the general decline in the ranks of all the Muslim racial groups, with the exception of Indian Muslims, was such that the total numbers of ranks in the hands of Hindu mansabdārs was much higher than that held by Irānīs, and the rank held by the Rājpūts alone was higher than that of the Tūrānīs.

At the end of the third decade a further rise in the ranks of Hindu mansabdārs, with a corresponding decrease in the ranks of Muslim mansabdārs, occurred. Out of 4,97,500 zāt and 3,72,950 sawār ranks Hindu mansabdārs held 24.32% and 28.71% respectively, while 75.67% and 71.28% respectively of the total zāt and sawār ranks were held by Muslim mansabdārs. There was thus about 1% fall in the zāt and more than 5% fall in the sawār ranks of the Muslims and a corresponding rise in that of Hindus over the decade. The Irānīs, however, held the highest number of ranks i.e. 37.38% of the zāt and 35.93% of the sawār ranks. Thus the Irānīs

experienced an increase of 4.52% and 5.30% respectively in their zāt and sawār ranks over the decade. The Rājpūts' share increased by 3.04% and 6.23% in the zāt and sawār ranks in comparison to the end of the second decade. The other racial groups, both Muslims and Hindus, suffered a general decline in their ranks.

Category-wise too, the Irānīs appear to have attained highest number of ranks in all categories vis-a-vis other racial groups in the nobility. Especially among the top-ranking mansabdārs of category (a), Irānīs possessed highest place in the hierarchy, as they held 59.78% and 69.01% of the total zāt and sawār ranks in this category at the end of the third decade. This was an unprecedented rise in their status, as mansabdārs, after the first decade of Shāhjahān's reign. The Tūrānīs did not come up to them as their total zāt ranks was equal to those of Rājpūts (17.39%) while they held the lowest number of sawār ranks (2.81%) in this category.

Category (b) shows a sharp decline in the ranks of Irānīs and a great increase in the ranks of Rājpūts as compared with their respective ranks in this category at the end of the second decade. The total rank of Muslim mansabdārs sustained a loss of 11.51% in the zāt and 13.28% in the sawār rank over the decade

in this category. Significantly enough, the total rank of Hindu mansabdārs was now 33.81% and 34.91% of the total ẓāt and sawār ranks respectively which is higher than those held by Irānīs i.e. 31.65% and 29.55%. The total rank of Rājpūts alone (25.17% and 28.34%) was much higher than that of the Tūrānīs (16.54% and 14.77%).

In category (c) the Irānīs' share in the total ranks again increased, by more than 8% both in ẓāt and sawār over the preceding decade, as they held 32.64% of the total ẓāt and 25.35% of the total sawār rank. The total sawār ranks held by Hindu mansabdārs[1] was almost equal to that of the Irānīs and their total ẓāt rank was equal to that of the Tūrānīs (19.88%). The sawār rank of the Rājpūts (21.35%) was considerably higher than that held by the Tūrānīs (17.29%).

The analysis of the mansabs, confirms the impressions derived from the count of numbers of the nobles. The Irānīs formed the largest single group in the nobility, with the largest share in the top-ranks throughout Shāhjahān's reign. What is of much interest is that here too after the first decade a proportionate

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1. It was 25.41% of the total sawār rank which is slightly higher than that of Irānīs. See Table-9, category (c).

decline in the ranks of Muslim mansabdārs is noticed with a corresponding increase in the ranks of Hindu mansabdārs. Thirdly, the Rājpūts appear to have been so largely promoted during the last ten years of Shāhjahān's reign that their total rank surpassed that of the Tūrānīs who had been, in term of mansabs, the second most powerful section in the nobility till the end of first twenty years of Shāhjahān's reign. This suggests that Hindus in general and Rājpūts in particular, both numerically and as mansabdārs, received considerable promotions during the last twenty years of Shāhjahān's reign.

Finally, a decade-wise tabulation of the mansabs held by the Irānīs, in the three categories, from different regions can also be made. Table-10 reveals that during the first decade the Tehrānīs, who mostly belonged to I'timād-ud Daula's family, held the highest number of ranks accounting 13.85% and 24.29% respectively out of the total 1,66,000 ẕāt and 1,31,300 sawār ranks held by Irānīs. This group, we may remember, claimed only 5 member or 7.93% of the strength of the Irānī group; obviously their very high ranks gave them totals in mansabs out of proportion to their numbers. The Mashhadīs possessed 13.55% of the total ẕāt and

16.41% of the total sawār ranks of the Irānīs, were the second most powerful group, followed by the Harvīs holding 11.14% and 8.37% of the two ranks respectively. Both the Qandahārīs and Qazwīnīs held a fair number of ranks and they may be assigned a fourth place among the Irānians. Irānīs of unknown origin, however, held as many as 16.86% of the total ẕāt and 14.35% of the total sawār rank of the Irānīs.[1]

During the second decade the people from Qandahār, just as they numerically outnumbered the others so in ranks too, they held largest number of ranks (15.63% ẕāt and 19.12% sawār) among Irānīs, and thus superseded the Tehrānīs (10.42% ẕāt and 14.59% sawār) who now held the third position while the Mashhadīs still maintained their previous status (12.05% ẕāt and 14.67% sawār). The people from Shīrāz, holding 9.12% ẕāt and 8.27% sawār, and those from Herāt, holding 8.46% ẕāt and 6.79% sawār ranks, were the other two strong groups at the end of the second decade of Shāhjahān's reign.[2]

In the 30th year of Shāhjahān's reign the Qandahārīs, again, are found to have held highest number

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1. See Table-10.

2. See Table-11.

of ranks i.e. 15.05% and 21.14% of the total 1,86,000 z̤āt and 1,45,200 sawār ranks respectively. Both the Mashhadīs and the Tehrānīs appear to have lost their respective previous positions being replaced, by the Harvīs (9.67% z̤āt and 10.67% sawār) and the Yazdīs (8.60% z̤āt and 5.23% sawār).[1]

At the end of this survey, it may be noted that inspite of Shāhjahān's growing consciousness in Central Asian affiliations, as he resumed the title of Ṣāhib Qirān-i S̤ānī for himself, and his efforts to recover his ancestral land, the Tūrānīs appear to have been loosing, both in numbers of manṣabdārs and in manṣabs, with each decade. On the contrary, Irānīs were not only the largest and most powerful racial group in the nobility but prospered throughout the reign of Shāhjahān. Irānīs are found to have been constituting above 30 per cent of the nobility and holding about the same percentage of the total ranks, while the Tūrānīs, both in numbers and in manṣabs never rose above 20 per cent. Despite a considerable fall in their ranks during the second decade, the Irānīs, on an average held above 50% of the total manṣabs in the category of 'highest' ranks. Secondly,

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1. See Table-12.

during the last twenty years of Shāhjahān's reign, Hindus in general and Rājpūts in particular are noticed to have increased their number and ranks. Their numerical composition was equal to that of Tūrānīs during the last two decades.

Besides comparing the mansabs attained by nobles of various groups, which we have studied so far, it may also be of some significance to examine the proportions that sawār ranks bore to the zāt ranks within each group. Information on this is brought together in Table-13. The zāt rank, it may be recalled, determined the status and personal salary of the mansabdārs, while the sawār rank prescribed the size of military contingent, and the pay he received for it. If the sawār-zāt ratio was low, it would show that the mansabdār was being given a much higher status than was justified by the military contingent he was obliged to keep. This may be illustrated by the following example. The sawār ranks of Muslim mansabdārs at the end of the 30th R.Y. of Shāhjahān's reign amounted to 70.61% of their total zāt ranks, while in the case of Hindu mansabdārs the proportion was 88.51%. Clearly, then, in general, compared to Hindu mansabdārs, on an average, a Muslim mansabdār was

likely to receive a higher *zāt* rank in relation to his actual military contingent. But within the Muslims the ratios varied considerably, as well as over 'Time'. The *sawār-zāt* ratio of the Afghāns rose at the end of each of the three decades from 71.42% to 93.71% and finally, to 94.28%, thus signifying that they became entitled to a lower and lower *zāt* rank, on average, in relation to their *sawār* ranks. In fact, their treatment paralleled closely that of the Rājpūt *manṣabdārs* whose *sawār-zāt* ratio similarly increased from 76.92% to 89.86% and, finally to 93.96% in the end-years of the three decades.

As against the Afghāns and Rājpūts the Irānīs and Tūrānīs were granted higher *zāt* ranks so as to maintain their status in the nobility in relation to their actual contingents. The Irānīs in the 10th, 20th and 30th R.Ys. had a *sawār-zāt* ratio of 79.09%, 83.45% and 78.06%, while the Tūrānīs had 90.05%, 89.82% and 50.65%. The Tūrānīs in the 10th and 20th R.Ys. were thus allowed little 'excess' status over their military contingent, but the situation changed radically by the 30th R.Y. The Irānīs, on the other hand, maintained a comfortable *sawār-zāt* ratio, enjoying consistently much higher *zāt* ranks than justified by their *sawār* ranks.[1]

1. See Table-13.

The Indian Muslims had a very high sawār-ẕāt ratio - an incredible 99.74%, in the 10th R.Y., but ẕāt ranks (in relation to sawār) seem to have come more liberally to them in the 20th and 30th R.Y. Another group with low sawār-ẕāt ratio was that of the Marāthas, but we should remember that their ẕāt ranks payments were subject to a deduction of one-fourth, and they received low-monthly jāgīrs in the Deccan. Thus there was a special reason for the extra ẕāt ranks they received over their sawār ranks.

All in all, in respect of sawār-ẕāt ratios too the Irānīs appear to have received a more consistently liberal treatment than any of the other groups.

CATEGORY-WISE NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF RACIAL GROUPS UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

Table 1: (First Decade)

Category of Manṣabdārs		IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDŪS	GRAND TOTAL
(a)	9000	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Manṣabdārs of 5000	6000	2	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4
Zāt and above	5000	7	2	-	2	-	11	3	1	-	4	15
Total (a)		10	4	-	2	-	16	3	1	-	4	20
Racial Percentage		50	20	-	10	-	80	15	5	-	20	100
Percentage among Muslims		62.5	25	-	12.5		100					
(b)	4000	7	5	3	1	1	17	1	-	-	1	18
3000 to 4000 zāt	3000	6	2	-	3	5	16	5	5	-	10	26
Total (b)		13	7	3	4	6	33	6	5	-	11	44
Racial Percentage		29.54	15.90	6.81	9.09	13.63	75	13.63	11.36	-	25	100
Percentage among Muslims		39.39	21.21	9.09	12.12	18.18	100					
(c)	2500	5	2	3	1	-	11	1	-	-	1	12
1000 to below 3000	2000	13	6	3	5	5	32	3	3	1	7	39
zāt	1500	7	7	4	1	4	23	6	-	-	6	29
	1000	15	11	7	2	3	38	7	-	-	7	45
Total (c)		40	26	17	9	12	104	17	3	1	21	125
Racial Percentage		32	20.8	13.6	7.2	9.6	83.2	13.6	2.4	0.8	16.8	100
Percentage among Muslims		38.46	25	16.34	8.65	11.53	100					
Total (a+b+c)		63	37	20	15	18	153	26	9	1	36	189
Racial percentage		33.33	19.57	10.58	7.93	9.52	80.95	13.75	4.76	0.52	19.04	100
Percentage among Muslims		41.17	24.18	13.07	9.80	11.76	100					

CATEGORY-WISE NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF RACIAL GROUPS : UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

Table 2 : Second Decade

Category of Manṣabdārs		IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
(a)	7000	2	1	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	4
5000 Ẓāt and above	6000	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
	5000	6	2	1	-	1	10	4	1	-	5	15
Total (a)		9	4	1	1	1	16	4	1	-	5	21
Racial Percentage		42.85	19.04	4.76	4.76	4.76	76.19	19.04	4.76		23.80	100
Percentage among Muslims		56.25	25	6.25	6.25	6.25	100					
(b)	4000	2	5	1	-	1	9	1	-	-	1	10
3000 to 4000 Ẓāt	3000	15	-	2	3	4	24	3	6	-	9	33
Total (b)		17	5	3	3	5	33	4	6	-	10	43
Racial percentage		39.53%	11.62%	6.97	6.97	11.62	76.74	9.30	13.95	-	23.25	100
Percentage among Muslims		51.51	15.15	9.09	9.09	15.15	100					
(c)	2500	-	-	2	-	1	3	1	-	-	1	4
1000 to below 3000 ẓāt	2000	9	8	4	7	4	32	6	3	-	9	41
	1500	11	7	2	4	-	24	8	1	1	10	34
	1000	16	14	4	15	3	52	15	-	3	18	70
Total (c)		36	29	12	26	8	111	30	4	4	38	149
Racial Percentage		24.16	19.46	8.05	17.44	5.36	74.49	20.13	2.68	2.68	25.50	100
Percentage among Muslims		32.43	26.12	10.81	23.42	7.20	100					
Total (a+b+c)		62	38	16	30	14	160	38	11	4	53	213
Racial percentage		29.10	17.84	7.51	14.08	6.57	75.11	17.84	5.16	1.87	24.88	100
Percentage among Muslims		38.75	23.75	10	18.75	8.75	100					

CATEGORY-WISE NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF RACIAL GROUPS UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

Table 3 : THIRD DECADE

Category of Manṣabdārs		IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
(a)	7000	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
5000 zāt and above	6000	3	1	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	5
	5000	6	2	-	-	-	8	2	1	-	3	11
Total (a)		10	3	-	-	-	13	3	1	-	4	17
Racial Percentage		58.82	17.64				76.47	17.64	5.88		23.52	100
Percentage among Muslims		76.92	23.07				100					
(b)	4000	2	2	-	-	1	5	2	-	-	2	7
3000 to 4000 zāt	3000	12	5	1	3	3	24	9	4	-	13	37
Total (b)		14	7	1	3	4	29	11	4	-	15	44
Racial percentage		31.81	15.90	2.27	6.81	9.09	65.90	25	9.09		34.09	100
Percentage among Muslims		48.27	24.13	3.44	10.34	13.79	100					
(c)	2500	9	4	2	2	1	18	1	-	-	1	19
1000 to below 3000 zāt	2000	10	8	4	3	2	27	8	2	1	11	38
	1500	15	8	6	5	1	35	6	1	-	7	42
	1000	22	15	3	17	5	62	16	-	2	18	80
Total (c)		56	35	15	27	9	142	31	3	3	37	179
Racial Percentage		31.28	19.55	8.37	15.08	5.02	79.32	17.31	1.67	1.67	20.67	100
Percentage among Muslims		39.43	24.64	10.56	19.01	6.33	100					
Total (a+b+c)		80	45	16	30	13	184	45	8	3	56	240
Racial Percentage		33.33	18.75	6.66	12.5	5.41	76.66	18.75	3.33	1.25	23.33	100
Percentage among Muslims		43.47	24.45	8.69	16.30	7.06	100					

CATEGORY-WISE REGIONAL COMPOSITION OF IRĀNĪS UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

TABLE 4 : FIRST DECADE

egory ṣabdārs	Āzarbāijān	Circassians	Erivān	Gīlān	Hamadān	Herāt	Iṣfahān	Kāshān	Khawāf	Mashhad	Maʿamūrīs	Qandahār	Qazwīn	Sabzwār	Shīrāz	Tehrān	Turbat	Yazd	Unidentified	Total
0 ẓāt above	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	10
to ẓāt	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	3	13
to ẓāt	1	-	-	2	-	6	2	1	2	4	1	1	5	-	3	2	1	2	7	40
1	1	2	1	2	1	8	2	1	2	7	1	3	6	-	5	5	2	3	11	63
entage	1.58	3.17	1.58	3.17	1.58	12.69	3.17	1.58	3.17	11.11	1.58	4.76	9.52	-	7.93	7.93	3.17	4.76	17.46	100

CATEGORY-WISE REGIONAL COMPOSITION OF IRĀNĪS UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

TABLE-5 SECOND DECADE

tegory nsaᵓdārs	Āzarbāijān	Circassian	Erivān	Gīlān	Hamadān	Herāt	Iṣfahān	Isfarāin	Kāshān	Khawāf	Maʻāmūrīs	Mashhad	Qandahār	Qazwīn	Shīrāz	Tun	Turbat	Tehrān	Yazd	Unidentified	Total
) 00 zāt d above	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	9
) 00 to 00 Zāt	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	4	-	1	-	1	2	17
) 00 to low 00 Zāt	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	2	-	1	4	4	4	1	1	-	3	2	9	36
tal	1	1	1	-	1	5	2	1	2	-	1	7	8	4	5	1	1	5	3	13	62
rcentage	1.61	1.61	1.61	-	1.61	8.06	3.22	1.61	3.22	-	1.61	11.29	12.90	6.45	8.06	1.61	1.61	8.06	4.83	20.96	100

CATEGORY-WISE REGIONAL COMPOSITION OF IRĀNĪS UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

TABLE-6 : THIRD DECADE

of s	Āzarbāijān	Circassian	Erivān	Hamadān	Herāt	Iṣfahān	Kāshān	Khawāf	Mashhad	Qandahār	Qazwīn	Shīrāz	Tehrān	Tūn	Ardistān	Astarābād	Turbat	Sabzwār	Samnān	Māzandrān	Yazd	Unidentified	T O T A L
and	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	10
000 Zāt	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	--	1	1	14
elow	1	-	1	-	5	4	1	2	4	5	3	3	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	5	15	56
	2	1	1	1	8	4	1	2	6	10	3	4	4	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	7	18	80
e	2.5	1.25	1.25	1.25	10	5	1.25	2.5	7.5	12.5	3.75	5	5	1.25	2.5	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.25	8.75	22.5	100

CATEGORY-WISE POSITION OF MANSABS HELD BY DIFFERENT RACIAL GROUPS IN SHĀHJAHĀN'S NOBILITY

TABLE - 7 : FIRST DECADE

/No. of :s	IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
9000x1	9000/18000	-	-	-	-	9000/18000	-	-	-	-	9000/18000
6000x4	12000/10000	12000/18000	-	-	-	24000/28000	-	-	-	-	24000/28000
5000x15	35000/37000	10000/13000	-	10000/16000	-	55000/66000	15000/15000	5000/5000	-	20000/20000	75000/86000
20	56000/65000	22000/31000	-	10000/16000	-	88000/112000	15000/15000	5000/5000	-	20000/20000	108000/132000
rcentage	51.85/49.24	20.37/23.48	-	9.25/12.12	-	18.48/84.84	13.88/11.36	4.62/3.78		18.51/15.15	100/100
e among	63.63/58.03	25/27.67		11.36/14.28	-	100/100					
4000x18	28000/17450	20000/16500	12000/10500	4000/6500	4000/3000	68000/53950	4000/3000	-	--	4000/3000	72000/56950
3000x26	18000/11000	6000/5000	-	9000/5000	15000/11500	48000/32500	15000/10500	15000/7500	-	30000/18000	78000/50500
44	46000/28450	26000/21500	12000/10500	13000/11500	19000/14500	116000/86450	19000/13500	15000/7500	-	34000/21000	150000/107450
rcentage	30.66/26.47	17.33/20.0	8/9.77	8.66/10.70	12.66/13.49	77.33/80.45	12.66/12.56	10/6.97		22.66/19.54	100/100
e among	39.65/32.90	22.41/24.86	10.34/12.14	11.20/13.30	16.37/16.77	100/100					
2500x12	12500/11800	5000/3200	7500/5000	2500/1500	-	27500/21500	2500/2000	-	-	2500/2000	30000/23500
2000x39	26000/13350	12000/8400	6000/5000	10000/6800	10000/6000	64000/39550	6000/4200	6000/2800	2000/1500	14000/8500	78000/48050
1500x29	10500/6500	10500/6900	6000/3200	1500/1500	6000/3850	34500/21950	9000/5700	-	-	9000/5700	43500/27650
1000x45	15000/6200	11000/6900	7000/3800	2000/1600	3000/1800	38000/20300	7000/4600	-	-	7000/4600	45000/24900
125	64000/37850	38500/25400	26500/17000	16000/11400	19000/11650	164000/103300	24500/16500	6000/2800	2000/1500	32500/20800	196500/124100
rcentage	32.56/30.49	19.59/20.46	13.48/13.69	8.14/9.18	9.66/9.38	83.46/83.23	12.46/13.29	3.05/2.25	1.01/1.20	16.53/16.76	100/100
e among	39.02/36.64	23.47/24.58	16.15/16.45	9.75/11.03	11.58/11.27	100/100					
b+c) 189	166000/131300	86500/77900	38500/27500	39000/38900	38000/26150	368000/301750	58500/45000	26000/15300	2000/1500	86500/61800	454500/363550
rcentage	36.52/36.11	19.03/21.42	8.47/7.56	8.58/10.70	8.36/7.19	80.96/83.0	12.87/12.37	5.72/4.20	0.44/0.41	19.03/16.99	100/100
e among	45.10/43.51	23.50/25.81	10.46/9.11	10.59/12.89	10.32/8.66	100/100					

TABLE-8 : SECOND DECADE

y/ No. of ārs	IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPUTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
7000X4	14000/24000	7000/12000	-	7000/7000	-	28000/43000	-	-	-	-	28000/43000
at 6000X2	6000/6000	6000/2000	-	-	-	12000/8000	-	-	-	-	12000/8000
ve 5000X15	30000/36000	10000/17000	5000/10000	-	5000/5000	50000/68000	20000/24500	5000/5000	-	25000/29500	75000/97500
a) 21	50000/66000	23000/31000	5000/10000	7000/7000	5000/5000	90000/119000	20000/24500	5000/5000	-	25000/29500	115000/148500
percentage	43.47/44.44	20/20.87	4.34/6.37	6.08/4.71	4.34/3.36	78.26/80.13	17.39/16.49	4.34/3.36		21.73/19.86	100/100
age among	55.55/55.46	25.55/26.05	5.55/8.40	7.77/5.88	5.55/4.20	100/100					
4000X10	8000/10000	20000/14400	4000/3000	-	4000/3000	36000/30400	4000/2000	-	-	4000/2000	40000/32400
3000X33	45000/30300	-	6000/5500	9000/5500	12000/8000	72000/49300	9000/11000	18000/9000	-	27000/20000	99000/66300
b) 43	53000/40300	20000/14400	10000/8500	9000/5500	16000/11000	108000/79700	13000/13000	18000/9000	-	31000/22000	139000/101700
percentage	38.12/39.62	14.38/14.15	7.19/8.35	6.47/5.40	11.51/10.81	77.69/78.36	9.35/12.78	12.94/8.84	-	22.30/21.63	100/100
tage among	49.07/50.56	18.51/18.06	9.25/10.66	8.33/6.90	14.81/13.30	100/100					
2500X4	-	-	5000/4000	-	2500/1000	7500/5000	2500/2000	-	-	2500/2000	10000/7000
2000X41	13000/3500	16000/12500	8000/6000	14000/7500	8000/5000	64000/39500	12000/9000	6000/2800	-	18000/11800	82000/51300
1500X34	16500/6950	10500/9000	3000/1100	6000/3800	-	36000/20850	12000/7900	1500/600	1500/3000	15000/11500	51000/32350
1000X70	16000/6350	14000/3100	4000/3200	15000/7800	3000/3050	52000/28500	15000/10550	-	3000/900	18000/11450	70000/39950
c) 149	50500/21800	40500/29600	20000/14300	35000/19100	13500/9050	159500/93850	41500/29450	7500/3400	4500/3900	53500/36750	213000/130600
percentage	23.70/16.69	19.01/22.66	9.38/10.94	16.43/14.62	6.33/6.92	74.88/71.86	19.48/22.54	3.52/2.60	2.11/2.98	25.11/28.13	100/100
age among	31.66/23.22	25.39/31.53	12.53/15.23	21.94/20.35	8.46/9.64	100/100					
a+b+c) 213	153500/128100	83500/75000	35000/32800	51000/31600	34500/25050	357500/292550	74500/66950	30500/17400	4500/3900	109500/83250	467000/380800
percentage	32.86/33.63	17.88/19.69	7.45/8.61	10.92/8.29	7.38/6.51	76.55/76.82	15.95/17.58	6.53/4.56	0.96/1.02	23.44/23.17	100/100
age among	42.93/43.78	23.35/25.63	9.79/11.21	14.26/10.80	9.65/8.56	100/100					

TABLE - 9 : THIRD DECADE

No. of rs	IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPUTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
7000X1	7000/12000	-	-	-	-	7000/12000	-	-	-	-	7000/12000
6000X5	18000/28000	6000/ -	-	-	-	24000/28000	6000/11000	-	-	6000/11000	30000/39000
5000X11	30000/33500	10000/3000	-	-	-	40000/36500	10000/14000	5000/5000	-	15000/19000	55000/55500
17	55000/73500	16000/3000	-	-	-	71000/76500	16000/25000	5000/5000	-	21000/30000	92000/106500
ercentage	59.78/69.01	17.39/2.81				77.17/71.83	17.39/23.47	5.43/4.69	-	22.82/28.16	100/100
ge among	77.46/96.07	22.53/3.92				100/100					
4000X7	8000/2000	8000/500	-	-	4000/3000	20000/5500	8000/7000	-	-	8000/7000	28000/12500
3000X37	36000/27200	15000/14100	3000/3000	9000/7500	9000/7000	72000/58800	27000/21000	12000/6500	-	39000/27500	111000/86300
44	44000/29200	23000/14600	3000/3000	9000/7500	13000/10000	92000/64300	35000/28000	12000/6500	-	47000/34500	139000/98800
ercentage	31.65/29.55	16.54/14.77	2.15/3.03	6.47/7.59	9.35/10.12	66.18/65.08	25.17/28.34	8.63/6.57	-	33.81/34.91	100/100
ge among	47.82/45.41	25/22.70	3.26/4.66	9.73/11.66	14.13/15.55	100/100					
2500X19	22500/10300	10000/4300	5000/4000	5000/1800	2500/2500	45000/22900	2500/1500	-	-	2500/1500	47500/24400
2000X38	20000/10900	16000/11000	8000/6500	6000/3300	4000/2100	54000/33800	16000/14900	4000/1800	2000/3500	22000/20200	76000/54000
1500X42	22500/10500	12000/5800	9000/11000	7500/7100	1500/500	52500/34900	9000/8700	1500/600	-	10500/9300	63000/44200
1000X80	22000/10800	15000/7900	3000/1900	17000/10350	5000/2500	62000/33450	16000/10700	-	2000/900	18000/11600	80000/45050
179	87000/42500	53000/29000	25000/23400	35500/22550	13000/7600	213500/125050	43500/35800	5500/2400	4000/4400	53000/42600	266500/167650
rcentage	32.64/25.35	19.88/17.29	9.38/13.95	13.32/13.45	4.87/4.53	80.11/74.58	16.32/21.35	2.06/1.43	1.50/2.62	19.88/25.41	100/100
ge among	40.74/33.98	24.82/23.19	11.70/18.71	16.62/18.03	6.08/6.07	100/100					
+b+c) 240	186000/145000	92000/46600	28000/26400	44500/30050	26000/17600	376500/265850	94500/88800	22500/13900	4000/4400	121000/107100	497500/372950
ercentage	37.38/38.93	18.49/12.49	5.62/7.07	8.94/8.05	5.22/4.71	75.67/71.28	18.99/23.81	4.52/3.72	0.80/1.17	24.32/28.71	100/100
ge among	49.40/54.61	24.43/17.52	7.43/9.93	11.81/11.30	6.90/6.62	100/100					

A CATEGORY-WISE ACCOUNT OF MANSABS HELD BY IRĀNĪS UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

TABLE-10 : FIRST DECADE

	(a) 5000 zāt and above	(b) 3000 to 4000 Zāt	(c) 1000 to below 3000 zāt	TOTAL	Percentage
Āẓarbāijān	-	-	1,500/ 800	1,500/ 800	0.90/ 0.60
Circassian	5,000/ 5,000	4,000/ 2,000	-	9,000/ 7,000	5.42/ 5.33
Erivān	-	3,000/ 2,000	-	3,000/ 2,000	1.80/ 1.52
Gīlān	-	-	2,500/ 500	2,500/ 500	1.50/ 0.38
Hamadān	-	3,000/ 2,000	-	3,000/ 2,000	1.80/ 1.52
Herāt	5,000/ 3,000	3,000/ 2,000	10,500/6,000	18,500/11,000	11.14/ 8.37
Iṣfahān	-	-	2,000/1,200	2,000/ 1,200	1.20/ 0.91
Kāshān	-	-	1,000/ 600	1,000/ 600	0.60/ 0.45
Khwāf	-	-	4,500/3,600	4,500/ 3,600	2.71/ 2.74
Mashhad	10,000/13,000	4,000/ 750	8,500/7,800	22,500/21,550	13.55/16.41
Ma'amūris	-	-	1,000/ 200	1,000/ 200	0.60/ 0.15
Qandahār	5,000/ 5,000	4,000/ 2,500	2,000/1,000	11,000/ 8,500	6.62/ 6.47
Qazwīn	-	4,000/ 4,000	7,000/3,900	11,000/ 7,900	6.62/ 6.01
Sabzwār	-	-	-	-	-
Shīrāz	6,000/ 4,000	3,000/ 500	5,000/2,600	14,000/ 7,100	8.43/ 5.40
Tehrān	19,000/29,000	-	4,000/2,900	23,000/31,900	13.85/24.29
Turbat	-	3,000/ 2,000	1,500/1,000	4,500/ 3,000	2.71/ 2.28
Yazd	-	3,000/ 2,500	3,000/1,100	6,000/ 3,600	3.61/ 2.74
Unidentified	6,000/ 6,000	12,000/ 8,200	10,000/4,650	28,000/18,850	16.86/14.35
Total	56,000/65,000	46,000/28,450	64,000/37,850	1,66,000/1,31,300	100/ 100

TABLE-11 SECOND DECADE

	(a) 5000 zāt and above	(b) 3000 to 4000 zāt	(c) 1000 to below 3000 zāt	TOTAL	Percentage
Āzarbāijān	-	-	2,000/2,000	2,000/ 2,000	1.30/ 1.56
Circassian	5,000/ 7,000	-	-	5,000/ 7,000	3.25/ 5.46
Erivān	-	3,000/ 3,500	-	3,000/ 3,500	1.95/ 2.73
Hamadān	-	3,000/ 2,000	-	3,000/ 2,000	1.95/ 1.56
Herāt	5,000/ 4,000	6,000/ 4,500	2,000/ 200	13,000/ 8,700	8.46/ 6.79
Iṣfahān	-	3,000/ 300	1,500/ 600	4,500/ 900	2.93/ 0.70
Isfarāin	-	-	1,000/ 700	1,000/ 700	0.65/ 0.54
Kāshān	-	-	3,000/ 900	3,000/ 900	1.95/ 0.70
Ma'amūris	-	-	1,500/ 200	1,500/ 200	0.97/ 0.15
Mashhad	7,000/12,000	6,000/ 5,500	5,500/1,300	18,500/18,800	12.05/14.67
Qandahār	12,000/17,000	6,000/ 4,500	6,000/3,000	24,000/24,500	15.63/19.12
Qazwīn	-	-	4,500/1,500	4,500/ 1,500	2.93/ 1.17
Shīrāz	-	13,000/10,500	1,000/ 100	14,000/10,600	9.12/ 8.27
Tehrān	10,000/15,000	-	6,000/3,700	16,000/18,700	10.42/14.59
Tūn	-	-	2,000/ 300	2,000/ 300	1.30/ 0.23
Turbat	-	3,000/ 2,000	-	3,000/ 2,000	1.95/ 1.56
Yazd	-	4,000/ 3,000	3,500/ 800	7,500/ 3,800	4.88/ 2.96
Unidentified	11,000/11,000	6,000/ 4,500	11,000/6,500	28,000/22,000	18.24/17.17
Total	50,000/66,000	53,000/40,300	50,500/21,800	1,53,500/1,28,100	100/ 100

TABLE-12 : THIRD DECADE

	(a) 5000 zāt and above	(b) 3000 to 4000 zāt	(c) 1000 to below 3000 zāt	TOTAL	Percentage
Ardistān	6,000/6,000	3,000/ 1,000	-	9,000/ 7,000	4.83/ 4.82
Āzarbāijān	-	3,000/ 6,000	2,000/ 800	5,000/ 6,800	2.68/ 4.68
Astarābād	-	-	1,000/ 200	1,000/ 200	0.53/ 0.13
Circassian	6,000/11,000	-	-	6,000/11,000	3.22 / 7.57
Erivān	-	-	2,000/ 1,500	2,000/ 1,500	1.07/ 1.03
Hamadān	-	3,000/ 3,000	-	3,000/ 3,000	1.61/ 2.06
Herāt	5,000/ 7,500	6,000/ 5,800	7,000/ 2,200	18,000/15,500	9.67/10.67
Iṣfahān	-	-	6,500/ 2,200	6,500/ 2,200	3.49/ 1.51
Kāshān	-	-	1,500/ 400	1,500/ 400	0.80/ 0.27
Khawāf	-	-	3,500/ 500	3,500/ 500	1.88/ 0.34
Mashhad	-	6,000/ 2,700	6,000/ 3,100	12,000/ 5,800	6.45/ 3.99
Māzandarān	-	-	1,000/ 600	1,000/ 600	0.53/0.41
Qandahār	12,000/20,000	9,000/ 7,500	7,000/ 3,200	28,000/30,700	15.05/21.14
Qazwīn	-	-	4,500/ 2,100	4,500/ 2,100	2.41/ 1.44
Sabzwār	-	-	1,500/ 800	1,500/ 800	0.80/ 0.55
Samnān	-	-	1,000/ 400	1,000/ 400	0.53/ 0.27
Shīrāz	5,000/ 5,000	-	4,000/ 3,100	9,000/ 8,100	4.83/ 5.57
Tehrān	6,000/11,000	4,000/ 1,000	5,000/ 3,000	15,000/15,000	8.06/10.33
Tūn	-	3,000/ 600	-	3,000/ 600	1.61/ 0.41
Turbat	-	-	1,500/ 200	1,500/ 200	0.81/ 0.13
Yazd	5,000/ 5,000	3,000/ 600	8,000/ 2,000	16,000/ 7,600	8.60/ 5.23
Unidentified	10,000/ 8,000	4,000/ 1,000	24,000/16,200	38,000/25,200	20.43/17.35
Total	55,000/73,500	44,000/29,200	87,000/42,500	1,86,000/1,45,200	100/100

TABLE 13 : SHOWING SAWĀR-ZĀT RATIO OF SHĀHJAHĀN'S MANSABDĀRS

	IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
10th year Total ranks	166000/ 131300	86500/ 77900	38500/ 27500	39000/ 38900	38000/ 26150	36800/ 301750	58500/ 45000	26000/ 15300	2000/ 1500	86500/ 61800	454500 363550
Sawār-Zāt ratio in percent	79.09	90.05	71.42	99.74	68.81	81.99	76.92	58.85	75	71.44	79.98
20th year	153500/ 128100	83500/ 75000	35000/ 32800	51000/ 31600	34500/ 25050	357500/ 292550	74500/ 66950	30500/ 17400	4500/ 3900	109500/ 88250	467000/ 380800
Sawār-Zāt ratio in percent	83.45	89.82	93.71	61.96	72.60	81.83	89.86	57.04	86.66	80.59	81.54
30th year	186000/ 145200	92000/ 46600	28000/ 26400	44500/ 30050	26000/ 17600	376500/ 265850	94500/ 88800	22500/ 13900	4000/ 4400	121000/ 101100	497500/ 372950
Sawār-Zāt ratio in percent	78.06	50.65	94.28	67.52	67.69	70.61	93.96	61.77	110	88.51	74.96

(b) AURANGZEB

In the absence of detailed official chronicles for the major part of Aurangzeb's reign, there is considerable difficulty in preparing the lists of his manṣabdārs. Neither the ʿĀlamgīr nāma, the only official chronicle which covers the period of first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign, nor the Maʿāsir-i ʿĀlamgīrī which is a very abridged account of his entire reign serves the purpose. The present study is, therefore, based on the lists of Aurangzeb's manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above prepared by M. Athar Ali on the basis of large number of contemporary documents. He gives two separate lists — A and B - for the periods 1658-1678 and 1679-1707 which respectively contain 486 and 575 names of manṣabdārs[1]. For the purpose of our study, we have further restricted ourselves to the manṣabdārs, who are known to have been holding the rank of 1000 ẕāt and above at the ends of the two periods (i.e. 1678 and 1707). They are respectively 349 and 412. It is to be noted further that the manṣabdārs who are known to have fled away or resigned or been suspended, are also not included.[2] While using the

1. See Mughal Nobility, op.cit., Appendix - List A and B on pp. 175-271.

2. In list A Shambhājī (No.12) and Netuji Muḥammad Qulī Khān (No.50) are thus excluded. In list B Takuji (No.147) and Dauji (No.315) are known to have left the Mughal service in 1694, and Yalingtosh Khān Bahādur (No.213), ʿObedullah (No.289), Ḥājī Shafīʿ Khān (No.424), Qābil Khān Mīr Munshī (No.550) and Kishore Das Gaur (No.568) are known to have been dismissed.

lists given by M. Athar Ali an effort has been made to check his racial identification and other information by re-examining the authorities cited by him. As a result a number of manṣabdārs who were left unidentified by him have now been identified, while in respect of some manṣabdārs the race assigned to them by him has had to be revised.[1] Moreover a number of manṣabdārs appear to have been repeated[2] in the lists in different

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1. In list A entries numbers 101, 102 and 415 were left unindentified: they are Afghāns. Nos. 135, 190, 218, 255 and 264 have been identified as Hindus. Entries Nos. 189 and 388 which also were unidentified have now been respectively identified as Irānī and Tūrānī. No.124 was identified as Maratha, it has now been identified as a Hindu (Brahman). No.297, identified as Irānī was of Afghān origin. No.313 identified as an Indian which was an Irānian and No.363 has been re-identified as an Afghān instead of Tūrānī.

   In list B entries Nos. 265, 289, 399, 415, 438 and 512 were left unidentified. Of these Nos. 265, 399, 415 and 438 have been identified as Irānīs and Nos. 289 and 512 as Tūrānīs. Among the identified manṣabdārs those mentioned under Nos.111, 119, 212, 361, 379 and 488 have been re-identified. Shaikh Lādū (No.111) identified as Tūrānī was an Indian Muslim; Ilhām-ullah Rashīd Khān (No.119) identified as Indian, was an Afghān; Saiyid Murād 'Alī (No.212) was a Tūrānī not Irānī; Shaikh Nūrullah, Qādir Dād Khān Ansārī (No.361) identified as an Irānian but he was an Afghān by origin; and finally, Ma'mūr Khān, Dilir Khān (No.448) has been re-identified as an Irānian (instead of Afghān) being perhaps the same as Mir Isfandyār Ma'mūr Khān, Dilir Khān. See Tazkirat-ul Umarā' of Kewal Ram, Eng. trans. by S.M. Azizuddin Husain, New Delhi, 1985, p.69 (hereafter T.U.) and Imtiāz 'Alī 'Arshī (ed.) Tārīkh-i Muhammadi, vol. II, Pt. VI, Aligarh, 1960, p.12 (hereafter cited as T.M.).

2. In the list A Pīr Muhammad, Āghar Khān (No.67) and Imām Qulī, Āghar Khān (No.381); Mirzā Khān Manūchihr

contd..

grades on account of their being mentioned under different titles in the sources. In such cases the <u>manṣabdārs</u> have been counted once and their last highest ranks, as known in or before 1678 and 1707, have been taken into account. For instance, Pīr Muḥammad Āghar Khān (Nos.67 in list A and 98 in list B) and Imām Qulī Āghar Khān (Nos.381 in list A and 142 in list B) are infact one and the same person. Therefore, in list B, nos. 98 and 142 have been dropped and in list A only the highest rank entry (No.67)

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f.n. contd. from prev.

(Nos. 104 and 105); Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg (Nos.183 and 335); Baizan Beg, Qil'adār Khān (No.193) and Nuṣrat Khān, Qil'adār Khān (No.217) are the same person because Baizan Beg was later on granted the title of Nuṣrat Khān (<u>Ālamgīr-nāma</u>, p.981); Mirzā Ni'amatullah Suhrāb Khān (No.298) and Ni'amatullah (No.460), son of Husāmuddīn Khān are also the same. After Aurangzeb's accession Mirzā Ni'amatullah was given the title of Suhrāb Khān.

In List B Nāmdār Khān (No.103) has been shown as holding the rank of 3000/2000 while, if Manucci the friend of Nāmdār Khān is to be believed, he had already died in 1678 (<u>Storia do Mogor</u>, vol. II, p.390). Ikhlāṣ, Khān-i 'Ālam (No.18) and Shaikh Lādū (No.111) are one man. He was the son of Shaikh Niẓām Ḥaiderābādī entitled Khān-i Zamān (<u>MU</u>, I, 794-798). Kewal Ram gives his name as Shaikh Lād (see <u>T.U.</u> <u>op.cit.</u>, p.5). He was first granted the title of Ikhlāṣ Khān and after that of Khān-i 'Ālam. Raja Udat Singh Bhaduriya (No.171) and Raja Udai Singh Bhaduriya (No.487) are identical. Udai Singh seems to be a misreading of Udat Singh or vice versa (see <u>M.A.</u> pp. 226, 228), Nāhar Khān (No.194) and Sangram Khān Ghorī Nāhar Khān are the same. Jai Singh Sawāi (No.268) is the same as Bijai Singh (No.355), for Bijai Singh was granted the title of Jai Singh Sawāi in 1700 (<u>M.A.</u>, p.424).

has been taken into account. Another interesting case is that of Ṭāhir Shaikh, Ṭāhir Khān (No.39 in list A and No.234 in list B). In list A his rank is given 5000/3000 while in list B it is 2,500/1,500. As he died in 1681, the second entry giving a far lower rank is a slip. Mirzā Khān (No.104 in list A) a grandson of ʿAbdur Rahīm Khān-i Khānān and Mirzā Khān Manūchihr[1] (No. 105 in the same list) are identical, because Mirzā Manūchihr had received the title of Mirzā Khān perhaps during the reign of Jahāngīr.[2] Therefore, he has been counted once. Similarly, Manohar Dās Sisodia has been mentioned twice (No.433 in list A and 519 in list B) holding a rank of 1000/400, and the same authority has been given at both the places.[3] Mīr Ibrāhīm, Muḥtasham Khān (No.105) has been mentioned holding the rank of 4000/1500 (500x 2-3h) on the authority of Akhbārāt dated 18th Shaʿbān, 24th R.Y. and 19th Ramẓān, 25th R.Y. But the rank is 2000/2000 (1500x2-3h). Muḥtasham Khān (No.438) is again mentioned holding the rank of 1000/1200 (1000x2-3h) with reference to the Akhbārāt dated 16th Rajab, 24th

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1. For the variant Mirzā Jān Manūchihr see M.A., p.127.

2. M.U., vol. III, p.586.

3. Kāẓim, p.140. In addition he has also referred to Maʿmūrī, f. 188(b) at the second place. But the name is not there. However, one Mohan Dās appears to have been killed fighting against the Marāthas alongwith a number of other Mughal officers. It seems that Mohan Dās has been misread as Manohar Dās.

R.Y. and 15th Jamāda II, 46th R.Y. In the 49th R.Y. he is mentioned as having been deprived of his rank and office at the siege of Wakinkera fort.[1] After its conquest he was appointed Qil'adār of the fort. His previous rank of 2500/1200 was restored and a conditional rank of 300 sawār against the post of Qil'adārī was also added to it.[2] I have therefore taken into account his last rank of 2500/1500 in my tables. It is also found that sometimes the ranks of manṣabdārs in the lists do not agree with those actually given in the sources. In such cases I have used the corrected ranks.[3] Riāẓuddīn Muḥammad Ḥaiderābādī (No.80 in list A) is shown as holding the rank of 4000/ẓāt only while his actual rank was 4000/3000.[4] The rank of 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijapuri, Sharza Khān (No.91) is given 3,500/2,000 while it was reduced to 2,500/1,500.[5] The rank of Khwāja Barkhurdār, Ashraf

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1. Akhbārāt, 49th R.Y. 23 January, 1705; M.A., p. 501; Ma'mūrī, f. 206(a)-(b); K.K., II, (b), p.537, M.U., III, pp. 646-50.

2. Akhbārāt, 7 Ẓilhaj, 49th R.Y. (22 March, 1705).

3. Nos. 212, 250 and 444 in list A. Shiv Singh (No.280) in list B has been shown a manṣabdār of 2000/1300. But his rank was 1000/500 (2-3h).

4. S.D.A., op.cit. p.20, as cited by M. Athar Ali in The Mughal Nobility, p.182.

5. S.D.A., p.70, cf. Mughal Nobility, p.183.

Khān (Barkhurdār Khān) (No.152), with reference to Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign and Maāsir-ul umarā' is given 2500/2000. But it was 2000/2000.[1] Interestingly enough, ʿInāyat Khān (No.476) has been listed in the category of mansabdārs of 1000 zāt while holding the rank of 2000/2000 and the authorities referred to are the Maāsir-ul Umarā' and the English Factories. But in Maāsir-ul Umarā' he is mentioned a mansabdār of 1000/100,[2] and in the English Factories as Mutasaddī of Surat without the rank of 2000/2000.[3] This suggests that the latter might have been some other person and not that mentioned in the Maāsir-ul Umarā' whom I have taken into account.

In list B ʿAbdur Razzāq Lārī (No.99) holds the rank of 4000/3000[4], which was given to him in 1689. Later he was promoted to the rank of 4000/4000 in 1692.[5] The last rank has been taken into account in my tables. The rank of Ikhlās kesh, Ikhlās Khān (No.248) 2500/1000 has been excluded because Maāsir-ul Umarā' itself mentions

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1. S.D.A. p. 74; M.U. I, pp. 206-207, also T.U., p.35. Cf. Mughal Nobility, p.188.
2. M.U., vol. II, pp. 813-18.
3. William Foster (ed.) English Factories in India, 13 Vols., Oxford, 1906-27, vol. XI (1661-64), pp.203, 205. (hereafter see E.F.I.).
4. S.D.A., p.195.
5. M.A., p.347.

that this rank was given to him by Bahādur Shāh after his accession to the throne.[1] The rank of Shiv Singh (No.280) is given 2000/1300 with reference to the Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign (p.171). But the actual rank mentioned there is 1000/500 (2-3h) which I have adopted. Lastly I have added two more persons, one in each list, namely Shaikh ʿAbdul ʿAzīz Khān, an Indian Muslim in list A. He held the rank of 1500/500.[2] In list B I have introduced Ḥasan Khān, son of Jamshed Khān Bijapuri. He was an Indian Muslim and held the rank of 1500 ẓāt.[3]

It may also be pointed out that there are some manṣabdārs whose ranks are not known but who are mentioned as Umarā-i ʿUẓām[4] or 'high rank' holders in the lists of M. Athar Ali. There are as many as 14 manṣabdārs - 2 in list A (1 Rajput and 1 Irānī)[5] and 12 in list B (2 Rajputs, 3 Irānīs and 7 Marathas)[6] - who have been recorded as 'high rank' holders in the

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1. M.U., I, pp. 350-52; Cf. M.A., p.380 where his rank in the 39th R.Y. is given 400/150.

2. M.U., II, pp. 686-88.

3. M.A., p.506; T.U., p.48.

4. Saiyid Murād ʿAlī, Mubārik Khān (No.212 in list B).

5. Nos. 485 and 486.

6. Nos. 564-575.

category of 1000 zāt. They have been assigned that manṣab while calculating the numerical composition of the manṣabdārs of different racial groups, though it is possible that many of them held still higher manṣab. But while calculating the total ranks held the 'high rank' manṣabdārs have not been taken into account because their specific sawār ranks are not known.

Two separate sets of four tables, one set each for the periods 1658-78 and 1679-1707[1], have been prepared to analyse the position and power of different racial groups in general and that of Irānīs in particular. In each set the first two tables (Nos. 14, 15 and 18, 19) give the numbers of manṣabdārs of different racial groups and the numbers of Irānīs from different regions. The other two tables in each set (Nos. 16, 17 and 20, 21) give the total manṣabs held by members of different racial groups and by Irānīs from different regions.

As regards the racial categorisation of manṣabdārs the same method of classification, which was adopted for the reign of Shāhjahān, has been followed here. The 'Other Muslims' include the ʿArabs, Abyssinians and those

1. Tables 14, 16, 18 and 20 constitute set 1 belonging to the period 1658-78; and Table 15, 17, 19 and 21 constitute set 2 belonging to the period 1679-1707.

Deccanī Muslims whose origin as Irānī, Tūrānī, Afghān or Indian Muslim has not been ascertained. Those Hindus and Marāthas who embraced Islām have also been included in this group.[1] Likewise 'Other Hindus' include the Nāyaks, Nāyars and those Hindus who could not have been identified as Rājpūts or Marāthas.[2]

Now coming to the analysis of the tables it appears that by the close of the first part of Aurangzeb's reign (1678) there were 349 manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above of which 275 or 78.79% were Muslims and 74 or 21.20% were Hindus. Among Muslims 87 or 24.92% were Irānīs, 49 or 14.04% Tūrānīs, 39 or 11.17% Afghāns, 28 or 8.02% Indian Muslims and 72 or 20.63% were 'Other Muslims'. It was the Irānīs who constituted the largest

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1. Netoji, Muḥammad Qulī Khān (No.50, List A); Yaswant Rao or Baswant Rao Deccani, Kārṭalab Khān (No.53, List A and No.84, List B); Kundaji Deccani (No.379, List A and 251, List B) were Marathas who embraced Islām. Debī Dās, Ikhlas Kesh, Ikhlās Khān (No.248, List B) and Jafar Khān, Murshid Qulī Khān, Kārṭalab Khān (No.283, List B) were originally Hindus who later on embraced Islām. They all are treated as 'Other Muslims'.

   Netoji, Muḥammad Qulī Khān, after serving for ten years under the Mughal Empire as a Muslim, fled to the Deccan where he re-adopted Hinduism (see J.N. Sarkar's House of Shivaji, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1955, p.173).

2. See List A - Nos. 17, 124, 135, 190, 218, 255, 264, 482 and List B - Nos. 35, 50, 53,79, 89, 149, 173, 303, 388, 540 and 563 in the Mughal Nobility, op.cit.

section among Muslims as well as in the entire nobility. Among Hindu manṣabdārs the Rajputs accounted for 49 out of 74 total Hindu manṣabdārs. They were equal in number to the Tūrānīs. Thus both Tūrānīs and Rajputs formed the second largest groups in the nobility during this period. The Rajputs generally held lower ranks; thus they numbered 46 or 16.54%, and were in these ranks more numerous than the Tūrānīs. The Irānīs, on the other hand, were more dominant in the higher ranks. In the highest ranks their number was 42.85% as against 31.57% among medium rank manṣabdārs and 22.66% among low rank manṣabdārs.[1]

By the end of Aurangzeb's reign (1707) there were 412 manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above. Among them 261 or 63.34% were Muslims and 151 or 36.65% were Hindus. Among the Muslims, if the 'Other Muslims' are excluded, the Irānis again appear to have constituted the most dominant group. They were 69 (i.e. 16.74%) as against Tūrānis 43(10.43%), Afghāns 25(6.06%) and Indian Muslims 34(8.25%).

It is significant that there was a general decline in the composition of Muslim manṣabdārs vis-a-vis a corresponding rise in that of Hindu manṣabdārs

1. See Table-14.

as compared to the first part of Aurangzeb's reign. In all the three categories of rank holders the Irānīs are found to have sustained sharp decline. A small increase however is noticed in the composition of Indian Muslims and 'Other Muslims'.[1] It is curious that during the first phase there was no 'Other Muslim' and Marātha manṣabdār in the category of high rank holders, whereas by the close of the second phase (1707) they numbered 15 each in this category and almost in equal numbers in other categories too.[2]

In the second phase of Aurangzeb's reign there was a sharp increase in the number of Hindu manṣabdārs, that is, from 21.20% at the end of 1678 to 36.65% by the close of 1707. Among the Hindus the Marāthas constituted the largest group and occupied the most dominant position amongst their co-religionists. They superseded even the Rājpūts who had hitherto been the powerful group among Hindus. The number of Marāthas increased from 19 in the first phase to 91 in the second, that is, from 5.44% to 22.08%. While the Rajputs, being constant in number (49), declined from

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1. They now accounted for 8.25% and 21.84% respectively by the end of 1707 while at the close of 1678 they were respectively 8.02% and 20.63%.

2. In the category of medium rank holders they numbered 16 each, while in the, category of lower rank manṣabdārs 'Other Muslims' were 59 and the Marāthas 60. See Tables-14 and 15.

14.04% to 11.89%.[1] The rise of Marāthas in the nobility of Aurangzeb during the last phase of his reign was apparently due to their recruitment in the Mughal service at a larger scale. But their number is artificially inflated, in Athar Ali's list, as he himself points out, because of the continuous cycles of defections among Marātha nobles.[2]

Regarding the composition of various regional groups among the Irānīs, those who are just designated the Khurāsānīs or ʿIrāqīs together with those whose native place is not known form the largest number among the Irānīs, at the end of each phase of Aurangzeb's reign. They were 19 (21.83%) out of the total 87 Irānian manṣabdārs, of 1000 ẕāt and above, by the end of the first phase. While at the termination of the second phase out of 69 Irānian manṣabdārs of the same rank they numbered 22 (31.88%). This group of 'un-identified Iranis', as designated in our tables, has not been taken into account while appraising the position of the regional groups of the Irānīs.

Now, an analysis of the regional groups shows that the Khawāfīs were the most dominant group through-

1. See Table-15.

2. Mughal Nobility, p.30.

out the reign of Aurangzeb. At the close of the first phase, out of 187 Irānian mansabdārs of 1000 zāt and above, the Khawāfīs were 11 or 12.64%.[1] By the end of the second phase they were again 11 in number out of 69, or 15.94%. The Qandahārīs appear to have been the second largest group during the reign of Aurangzeb and constituted over 10% of the total Irānians in each phase. Those from Iṣfahān and Yazd numbered 8 i.e. 9.19 each. By the end of the second phase their position declined, their number being 3 (or 4.34%) each. There was a corresponding rise in those of Sabzwār who numbering 6 accounted for 8.69% at this time. Among others who improved their position in the second phase mention may be made of the Harvīs and Tehrānīs. Those who were either completely dropped out or experienced a decline in the second phase were the people from Ardistān, Erivān, Gīlān, Hamadān, Iṣfahān, Kāshān, Kirmān, Mashhad, Māzandrān and Yazd. While the representation of manṣabdārs from Lār and Tūn in the Irānian nobility of Aurangzeb appeared for the first time during the last phase of the reign.[2]

Some suggestions may be put forward regarding these changes in the strength of the various regional

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1. See Table-18.

2. See Table-19.

groups. Almost all the influential groups were composed of khānazād families. The share of these families in mansabs seems to have determined the power and position of their respective regional groups at a particular time. The larger the share of a family the stronger appears the group to which it belonged. Thus, fluctuations in the composition of different regional groups, at a given point of time, are directly related to the rise and fall in the numerical strength of individual families, rather than any conscious desire of the imperial court to favour a particular region at the expense of another.

It is possible that owing to the fall of the Ṣafavid empire, the pre-occupation of Aurangzeb in the Deccan and the large-scale recruitment of the Deccanīs, the Mughal empire could no longer serve as Eldorado for Irānīs and Tūrānīs.[1] Even a fall in the numerical strength of various khānazād Irānian families now occurred, through the influx of non-khānazād elements from the Deccan. If the Khawāfīs still retained some strength, this, as Khāfī Khān pointed out, might have been "owing to Shaikh Mīr's sacrificing his life in the service of the emperor",

1. Mughal Nobility, p.17.

in recognition of which "the Emperor a (great) patron of khānazāds - began to bestow great favour on all men of Khawāf..."[1]

The position of total manṣabs (as against number of holders) is another index of the status of different groups in the nobility. The statistics of ranks held by the manṣabdārs of 1000 ẕāt and above, according to Athar Ali's list[2], amounted to 6,85,000/4,39,850 at the close of 1678. Out of this Muslims held 5,54,500/3,56,750 i.e. 80.94/81.10 per cent of the total, while the Hindu manṣabdārs held 1,30,500/83,100 or 19.05/18.89 per cent.

Among the Muslim groups, the Irānīs shared largest share of ranks, 28.54% and 29.56% of the total ẕāt and sawār ranks. In all the three categories the Irānīs were holding largest amount of ranks vis-a-vis other racial groups in the nobility, but the Irānī share in the manṣabs in the first category was as high as 44.87% of ẕāt and 63.51% of sawār. Tūrānīs appear to have been the second most powerful group during the first phase of Aurangzeb's reign as they accounted for 16.64% of the total ẕāt and 15.51% of

1. K.K., II, p.72.

2. See ante P. 100 and n.

the total sawār rank at the end of 1678. It may be pointed out that the share of 'Other Muslims' in the ranks was higher than that of the Tūrānīs but the 'Other Muslims' can not be treated as a specific racial group. Tūrānīs were followed by the Afghāns who held 11.60% and 13.24% of the total ẕāt and sawār ranks. The Rājpūts came next to the Afghāns (holding 11.45% and 12.36% ranks) but they held 16.12% and 19.67% of the manṣabs in the third category where they exceeded the Tūrānīs (12% of ẕāt and 10.90% of sawār); Afghāns (9.45% of ẕāt and 12.05% of sawār) and Indian Muslims (7.87% of ẕāt and 5.84% of sawār).[1]

In the second phase of Aurangzeb's reign the Hindu share in the manṣabs appears to rise, and that of Muslims to correspondingly decline (falling to 64.80% of ẕāt and 66.38% of sawār), but this is mainly because of the large number of Marāthas of shifting loyalties in M. Athar Ali's list (for which see above). The Irānīs who had hitherto been the highest rank holders in the Mughal nobility, now held just 16.09% and 16.21% of the total ẕāt and sawār ranks which was less than that of Marathas who, according to the deceptive nature of our statistics, seemingly held 21.82% ẕāt and 19.84% sawār rank at this time.[2]

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1. See Table-16.

2. See Table-17.

The Irānīs, for the first time, lost their dominant position in the first category, falling to a mere 8.7% of zāt and 11.5% of sawār. In the lower two categories, however, they still held primacy of ranks followed by Tūrānīs and then, by the Indian Muslims. It is interesting that Afghāns' larger share in the category of 5000 zāt and above was again due to the influx of a large number of Afghāns from the Deccan where they had served in the Bijapur Kingdom.[1]

The position of Irānīs belonging to different regions can be seen in tables 20 and 21 which provide manṣab statistics for various regional groups. It appears from these tables that Khawāfīs held the highest number of ranks among the Irānian groups throughout the reign of Aurangzeb. By the end of 1678 they possessed as much as 28,500 zāt and 20,950 sawār which was 14.57% and 16.10% of the total 1,95,500 zāt and 1,30,050 sawār rank held by the Irānīs. The Qandahārīs appear to have been the second powerful group in the Irānian nobility holding 11.36% and 11.80% of the total zāt and sawār ranks. They were followed by those from Yazd who accounted for 9.71% and 9.99%. Iṣfahānīs (6.90% of zāt and 5.38% of sawār) came on the fourth

1. Cf. Mughal Nobility, p.21.

place, while the Tehrānīs (6.39% of zāt and 13.30% of sawār) occupied a fifth place.[1]

During the second phase of Aurangzeb's reign again Khawāfīs held 27,500 zāt (17.62%) and 19,400 sawār (19%) out of a total rank of 1,56,000 zāt and 1,02,150 sawār, held by Irānīs. Similarly, the Qandahārīs maintained their strength being the second most dominant group. Their combined ranks amounted 20,500/17,200 i.e. 13.14% and 16.83% of the total held by Irānīs. The people from Yazd and Iṣfahān, however, lost their respective previous status being replaced by those from Sabzwār and Herāt. The Sabzwārīs held 11.21% of zāt and 10.67% of sawār rank. The Harvīs, who occupied the fourth place, possessed 8.33% and 8.81% of the total zāt and sawār ranks. Tehrānīs are again found to have been holding the fifth position by sharing 6.73% of zāt and 6.55% of sawār rank.[2]

It is noticed here that although Khawāfīs were the largest and most powerful group throughout Aurangzeb's reign a comparison of their ranks with those of other Irānian groups, in different categories, reveals that they did not enjoy highest position in

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1. See Table-20.

2. See Table-21.

each category. There were other groups too, which held equal and even higher number of ranks. For example, at the close of 1678, in all the three categories of _mansabdārs_, the _zāt_ rank of _Khawāfīs_ was equal to that of Tehrānīs (category-a), Yazdīs (category-b) and Qandahārīs (category-c). At the same time the _sawār_ rank of _Khawāfīs_ was lower than that of the Tehrānīs, Yazdīs and Qandahārīs. At the end of second phase (1707), even the _zāt_ rank of the _Khawāfīs_ was lower than that of others. In category-a they held 5000/4000 as against 6000/8000 held by Qandahārīs and 7000/7000 held by Harvīs. In category-b the total rank of _Khawāfīs_ amounted 10,000/7,100, whereas, the Qandahārīs held 10,500/6,500, the Sabzwārīs 11,000/6,200 and Tehrānīs 10,500/6,700. It was only in category-c of low ranks that the _Khawāfīs_ possessed highest number of ranks amounting 12,500 _zāt_ and 8,300 _sawār_ of the total rank. It is, therefore to be inferred that the _Khawāfīs_ did not enjoy a very strong position among high rank _mansabdārs_. More: inspite of having won the confidence of Aurangzeb[1], they could not have acquired the status enjoyed by the above mentioned _Khānazād_ families of very high aristocratic repute.

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1. See ante p.114. Also Cf. _Mughal Nobility_, p.19.

Now, at the end of the above survey the sawār-zāt ratio of various groups would also be helpful in determining the personal status of each group. Between Irānīs and Tūrānīs, the latter enjoyed a consistently better position holding much higher zāt ranks than was justified by their sawār ranks. The Irānīs, on the other hand, were allowed little 'excess' status over their military contingent in the second phase by the lowering of their sawār-zāt ratio from 66.52% in 1678 to 65.48% in 1707. Interestingly enough, it was the Afghāns whose sawār proportion declined from 70.27% at the end of 1678 to 64.31% by the end of 1707, thus allowing them a larger status over their actual military contingent.[1]

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1. See Table-22.

CATEGORY-WISE NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF RACIAL GROUPS UNDER AURANGZEB

Table 14 : First Phase (1658-1678)

Category of Manṣabdārs		IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
(a)	7,000	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Manṣabdārs of 5000 zāt and above	6,000	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	2	4
	5,000	3	2	3	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	8
Total (a)		6	3	3	-	-	12	1	-	1	2	14
Racial Percentage		42.85	21.42	21.42			85.71	7.14		7.14	14.28	100
Percentage among Muslims		50.0	25.0	25.0			100					
(b)	4,000	8	6	1	-	4	19	-	1	-	1	20
3000 to 4000 zāt	3,500	4	1	1	1	-	7	-	-	-	-	7
	3,000	6	7	6	5	1	25	2	2	1	5	30
Total (b)		18	14	8	6	5	51	2	3	1	6	57
Racial Percentage		31.57	24.56	14.03	10.52	8.77	89.47	3.50	5.26	1.75	10.52	100
Percentage among Muslim		35.29	27.45	15.68	11.76	9.80	100					
(c)	2,500	8	7	2	2	5	24	6	4	-	10	34
1000 to below 3000 zāt	2,000	12	3	1	4	10	30	4	3	1	8	38
	1,500	21	8	14	7	22	72	17	4	2	23	95
	1,000	22	14	11	9	30	86	19	5	1	25	111
Total (c)		63	32	28	22	67	212	46	16	4	66	278
Racial Percentage		22.66	11.51	10.67	7.91	24.10	76.25	16.54	5.75	1.43	23.74	100
Percentage among Muslims		29.71	15.09	13.20	10.37	31.60	100					
Total (a+b+c)		87	49	39	28	72	275	49	19	6	74	349
Racial Percentage		24.92	14.04	11.17	8.02	20.63	78.79	14.04	5.44	1.71	21.20	100
Percentage among Muslims		31.63	17.81	14.18	10.18	26.18	100					

Table 15 : Second Phase (1679-1707)

Category of Mansabdārs		IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
(a)	7000	1	2	1	-	5	9	-	1	-	1	10
5000 zāt and above	6000	2	-	2	1	1	6	-	3	1	4	10
	5000	1	1	2	1	9	14	2	11	2	15	29
Total (a)		4	3	5	2	15	29	2	15	3	20	49
Racial Percentage		8.16	6.12	10.20	4.08	30.61	59.18	4.08	30.61	6.12	40.81	100
Percentage among Muslims		13.79	10.34	17.24	6.89	51.72	100					
(b)	4000	6	5	1	2	5	19	1	2	1	4	23
3000 to 4000 zāt	3500	4	1	-	-	3	8	4	2	-	6	14
	3000	9	4	2	6	8	29	6	12	2	20	49
Total (b)		19	10	3	8	16	56	11	16	3	30	86
Racial Percentage		22.09	11.62	3.48	9.30	18.60	65.11	12.79	18.60	3.48	34.88	100
Percentage among Muslims		33.92	17.85	5.35	14.28	28.57	100					
(c)	2500	7	10	1	2	6	26	3	8	-	11	37
1000 to/below 3000 zāt	2000	7	4	5	6	12	34	4	11	2	17	51
	1500	13	9	7	6	14	49	11	9	1	21	70
	1000	19	7	4	10	27	67	18	32	2	52	119
Total (c)		46	30	17	24	59	176	36	60	5	101	277
Racial Percentage		16.60	10.83	6.13	8.66	21.29	63.53	12.99	21.66	1.80	36.46	100
Percentage among Muslims		26.13	17.04	9.65	13.63	33.52	100					
Total (a+b+c)		69	43	25	34	90	261	49	91	11	151	412
Racial Percentage		16.74	10.43	6.06	8.25	21.84	63.34	11.89	22.08	2.66	36.65	100
Percentage among Muslims		26.43	16.47	9.57	13.02	34.48	100					

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CATEGORY-WISE POSITION OF MANSAES HELD BY DIFFERENT/GROUPS IN THE NOBILITY OF AURANGZEB

Table 16 : First Phase (1658-1678 A.D.)

/No. of RS	IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
7000x2	14000/27000	-	-	-	-	14000/27000	-	-	-	-	14000/27000
6000x4	6000/6000	6000/ -	-	-	-	12000/ 6000	6000/7000	-	6000/ -	12000/7000	24000/13000
e 5000x8	15000/14000	10000/8000	15000/12000	-	-	40000/34000	-	-	-	-	40000/34000
) 14	35000/47000	16000/8000	15000/12000	-	-	66000/67000	6000/7000	-	6000/-	12000/7000	78000/74000
ercentage	44.87/63.51	20.51/10.81	19.23/16.21			84.61/90.54	7.69/9.45	-	7.69/-	15.38/9.45	100/100
ge among	53.03/70.14	24.24/11.94	22.72/17.91			100/100					
4000x20	32000/22100	24000/18000	4000/	-	16000/17000	76000/57100	-	4000/1300	-	4000/1300	80000/58400
3500x 7	14000/ 7700	3500/ 2000	3500/3000	3500/2500	-	24500/15200	-	-	-	-	24500/15200
3000x30	18000/ 7500	21000/14700	18000/15000	15000/10500	3000/2000	75000/49700	6000/1300	6000/5000	3000/2000	15000/8300	90000/58000
) 57	64000/37300	48500/34700	25500/18000	18500/13000	19000/19000	175500/122000	6000/1300	10000/6300	3000/2000	19000/9600	194500/131600
ercentage	32.90/28.34	24.93/26.36	13.11/13.67	9.51/9.87	9.76/14.43	90.23/92.70	3.08/0.98	5.14/4.78	1.54/1.51	9.76/7.29	100/100
ge among	36.46/30.57	27.63/28.44	14.52/14.75	10.54/10.65	10.82/15.57	100/100					
2500x34	20000/10400	17500/10100	5000/5200	5000/3000	12500/5400	60000/34100	15000/9500	10000/5200	-	25000/14700	85000/48800
2000x38	24000/14150	6000/3700	2000/1000	8000/2800	20000/11100	60000/32750	8000/6500	6000/3800	2000/1000	16000/11300	76000/44050
1500x95	31500/11750	12000/5900	21000/14100	10500/3400	33000/21700	108000/56850	25500/17300	6000/4600	3000/2700	34500/24600	142500/81450
1000x109	21000/9450	14000/5850	11000/7950	9000/4500	30000/16300	85000/44050	18000/12800	5000/3100	1000/ -	24000/15900	109000/59950
276	96500/45750	49500/25550	39000/28250	32500/13700	95500/54500	313000/167750	66500/46100	27000/16700	6000/3700	99500/66500	412500/234250
ercentage	23.39/19.53	12/10.90	9.45/12.05	7.87/5.84	23.15/23.26	75.87/71.61	16.12/19.67	6.54/7.12	1.45/1.57	24.12/28.38	100/100
ge among	30.83/27.27	15.81/15.23	12.46/16.84	10.38/8.16	30.51/32.48	100/100					
+b+c) 347	195500/130050	114000/68250	79500/58250	51000/26700	114500/73500	554500/356750	78500/54400	37000/23000	15000/5700	130500/83100	685000/439850
ercentage	28.54/29.56	16.64/15.51	11.60/13.24	7.44/6.07	16.71/16.71	80.94/81.10	11.45/12.36	5.40/5.22	2.18/1.29	19.05/18.89	100/100
ge among	35.25/36.45	20.55/19.13	14.33/16.32	9.19/7.48	20.64/20.60	100/100					

Table 17 : Second Phase (1679-1707 A.D.)

RY/No. of DARS	IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS	GRAND TOTAL
7000x10	7000/7000	14000/10000	7000/7000	-	35000/37000	63000/61000	-	7000/7000	-	7000/7000	70000/68000
ıt 6000x10	12000/14000	-	12000/11000	6000/10000	6000/7000	36000/42000	-	18000/6000	6000/ -	24000/6000	60000/48000
ove 5000x29	5000/4000	5000/5000	10000/3000	5000/4000	45000/33000	70000/49000	10000/10000	55000/31200	10000/10000	75000/51200	145000/100200
a) 49	24000/25000	19000/15000	29000/21000	11000/14000	86000/77000	169000/152000	10000/10000	80000/44200	16000/10000	106000/64200	275000/216200
ercentage	8.72/11.56	6.90/6.93	10.54/9.71	4/6.47	31.27/35.61	61.45/70.30	3.63/4.62	29.09/20.44	5.81/4.62	38.54/29.69	100/100
tage among s	14.20/16.44	11.24/9.86	17.15/13.81	6.50/9.21	50.88/50.65	100/100					
4000x23	24000/16800	20000/15000	4000/3000	8000/7000	20000/16000	76000/57300	4000/ -	8000/ -	4000/4000	16000/4000	92000/61800
o 3500x14	14000/9500	3500/2800	-	-	10500/6700	28000/19000	14000/5400	7000/2000	-	21000/7400	49000/26400
āt 3000x49	27000/15700	12000/5300	6000/2500	18000/10500	24000/11000	87000/45000	18000/13000	36000/22000	6000/5000	60000/40000	147000/85000
(b) 86	65000/42000	35500/23100	10000/5500	26000/17500	54500/33700	191000/121800	36000/18400	51000/24000	10000/9000	97000/51400	288000/173200
percentage	22.56/24.24	12.32/13.33	3.47/3.17	9.02/10.10	18.92/19.45	66.31/70.32	12.5/10.62	17.70/13.85	3.47/5.19	33.68/29.67	100/100
tage among s	34.03/34.48	18.58/18.96	5.23/4.51	13.61/14.36	23.53/27.66	100/100					
2500x36	17500/9550	22500/12700	2500/1200	5000/3000	15000/9300	62500/35750	7500 /4000	20000/15000	-	27500/19000	90000/54750
o 2000x51	14000/4200	8000/3700	10000/4500	12000/6600	24000/13300	68000/32300	8000/7400	22000/14600	4000/1000	34000/23000	102000/55300
āt 1500x70	19500/11200	13500/4100	10500/8100	9000/5200	21000/9300	73500/37900	16500/11850	13500/7900	1500/700	31500/20450	105000/58350
1000x109	16000/10200	7000/4100	4000/2150	10000/7000	27000/15100	64000/38550	18000/14100	25000/19350	2000/300	45000/33750	109000/72300
(c) 266	67000/35150	51000/24600	27000/15950	36000/21800	87000/47000	263000/144500	50000/37350	80500/56850	7500/2000	138000/96200	406000/240700
Percentage	16.50/14.60	12.56/10.22	6.65/6.62	8.86/9.05	21.42/19.52	66.00/60.03	12.31/15.51	19.82/23.61	1.84/0.83	33.99/39.96	100/100
tage among ıs	25/24.32	19.02/17.02	10.07/11.03	13.43/15.08	32.46/32.52	100/100					
(a+b+c) 401	156000/102150	105500/62700	66000/42450	73000/53300	227500/157700	628000/418300	96000/65750	211500/125050	33500/21000	341000/211800	969000/630100
l percentage	16.09/16.21	10.88/9.95	6.81/6.73	7.53/8.45	23.47/25.02	64.80/66.38	9.90/10.43	21.82/19.84	3.45/3.33	35.19/33.61	100/100
tage among ıs	24.84/24.42	16.79/14.98	10.50/10.14	11.62/12.74	36.22/37.70	100/100					

CATEGORY-WISE REGIONAL COMPOSITION OF IRĀNĪS UNDER AURANGZEB

Table 18 : First Phase (1658-1678 A.D.)

Category of Mansabdārs	Ardistān	Āzarbāijān	Erivān	Gīlān	Hamadān	Herāt	Isfahān	Kāshān	Khawāf	Kirmān	Mashhad	Māzandrān	Nīshāpūr	Qandahār	Qazwīn	Sabzwār	Shīrāz	Tehrān	Yezd	Unidentified	T O T A L
))0 zāt l above	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	6
)0 to)0 zāt	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	3	4	18
0 to ow 0 zāt	1	1	2	-	1	2	7	2	7	2	2	3	1	6	1	2	1	3	5	14	63
al	2	1	2	1	1	3	8	2	11	2	4	3	1	9	1	4	1	4	8	19	87
cent-	2.29	1.14	2.29	1.14	1.14	3.44	9.19	2.29	12.64	2.29	4.59	3.44	1.14	10.34	1.14	4.59	1.14	4.59	9.19	21.83	100

CATEGORY-WISE REGIONAL COMPOSITION OF IRĀNĪS UNDER AURANGZEB

TABLE 19 : Second Phase (1679-1707)

Category of Mansabdārs	Āzarbāijān	Herāt	Iṣfahān	Kāshān	Khawāf	Lār	Mashhad	Nīshāpūr	Qandahār	Qazwīn	Sabzwār	Shīrāz	Tehrān	Tūn	Yazd	Unidentified	T O T A L
(a) 5000 zāt and above	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
b) 000 to 4000	-	2	1	-	3	2	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	--	2	19
c) 000 to below 000 Zāt	-	1	2	1	7	-	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	3	20	46
OTAL	1	4	3	1	11	2	1	1	7	1	6	1	4	1	3	22	69
ercentage	1.44	5.79	4.34	1.44	15.94	2.84	1.44	1.44	10.14	1.44	8.69	1.44	5.79	1.44	4.34	31.88	

A CATEGORY-WISE ACCOUNT OF MANṢABS HELD BY IRĀNĪS UNDER AURANGZEB

Table-20 : First Phase (1658-1678)

	(a) 5000 zāt and above	(b) 3000 to 4000 zāt	(c) 1000 to 2500 zāt	TOTAL manṣabs	Percentage
Ardistān	6,000/ 6,000	-	2,500/ 500	8,500/ 6,500	4.34/ 4.99
Āzarbāijān	-	-	2,000/1,000	2,000/ 1,000	1.02/ 0.76
Erivān	-	-	2,000/2,600	2,000/ 2,600	1.02/ 1.99
Gīlān	-	3,500/ 2,000	-	3,500/ 2,000	1.79/ 1.53
Hamadān	-	-	2,500/1,000	2,500/ 1,000	1.27/ 0.76
Herāt	5,000/ 5,000	-	4,000/1,250	9,000/ 6,250	4.60/ 4.80
Iṣfahān	-	4,000/ 2,000	9,500/5,000	13,500/ 7,000	6.90/ 5.38
Kāshān	-	-	2,000/ 700	2,000/ 700	1.02/ 0.53
Khawāf	7,000/13,000	11,500/ 4,100	10,000/3,850	28,500/20,950	14.57/16.10
Kirmān	-	-	3,000/2,150	3,000/ 2,150	1.53/ 1.65
Mashhad	-	6,000/ 2,000	3,000/ 900	9,000/ 2,900	4.60/2.22
Māzandrān	-	-	6,000/5,400	6,000/ 5,400	3.06/ 4.15
Nīshāpūr	-	-	1,500/ 700	1,500/ 700	0.77/ 0.53
Qandahār	5,000/ 5,000	7,000/ 5,000	10,000/5,350	22,000/15,350	11.36/11.80
Qazwīn	-	-	1,500/ 900	1,500/ 900	0.76/ 0.69
Sabzwār	-	7,000/ 4,000	2,000/ 800	9,000/ 4,800	4.60/ 3.69
Shīrāz	-	-	1,500/ 50	1,500/ 50	0.76/ 0.03
Tehrān	7,000/14,000	-	5,500/3,300	12,500/17,300	6.39/13.30
Yazd	-	11,500/10,200	7,500/2,800	19,000/13,000	9.71/ 9.99
Unidentified	5,000/ 4,000	13,500/ 8,000	20,500/7,500	39,000/19,500	19.94/14.99
TOTAL	35,000/47,000	64,000/37,300	96,500/45,750	1,95,500/1,30,050	100/100

Table 21 - Second Phase (1679-1707)

	(a) 5000 zat and above	(b) 3000 to 4000 zat	(c) 1000 to 2500 zat	Total Mansabs	Percentage
Āzarbāijān	6,000/6,000	-	-	6,000/ 6,000	3.84/ 5.87
Herāt	7,000/7,000	6,000/2,000	-	13,000/ 9,000	8.33/ 8.81
Isfahān	-	4,000/3,000	3,000/ 1,800	7,000/ 4,800	4.48/ 4.69
Kāshān	-	-	1,500/ 1,000	1,500/ 1,000	0.96/ 0.97
Khawāf	5,000/4,000	10,000/7,100	12,500/ 8,300	27,500/19,400	17.62/18.99
Lār	-	7,000/5,500	-	7,000/ 5,500	4.48/ 5.38
Mashhad	-	-	1,000/ 500	1,000/ 500	0.64/ 0.48
Nīshāpūr	-	-	2,500/ 250	2,500/ 250	1.60/ 0.24
Qandahār	6,000/8,000	10,500/6,500	4,000/ 2,700	20,500/17,200	13.14/16.83
Qazwīn	-	-	1,500/ 600	1,500/ 600	0.96/ 0.58
Sabzwār	-	11,000/6,200	6,500/ 4,700	17,500/10,900	11.21/10.67
Shīrāz	-	-	1,500/ 200	1,500/ 200	0.96/ 0.19
Tehrān	-	10,500/6,700	-	10,500/ 6,700	6.73/ 6.55
Tūn	-	-	1,000/ 800	1,000/ 800	0.64/ 0.78
Yazd	-	-	3,000/ 1,000	3,000/ 1,000	1.92/ 0.97
Unidentified	-	6,000/5,000	29,000/13,300	35,000/18,300	22.43/17.91
TOTAL	24,000/25,000	65,000/42,000	67,000/35,150	1,56,000/1,02,150	100/100

Table-22 : Showing Sawār-Zāt Ratio of Aurangzeb's Mansabdārs

	IRĀNĪS	TŪRĀNĪS	AFGHĀNS	INDIAN MUSLIMS	OTHER MUSLIMS	TOTAL MUSLIMS	RĀJPŪTS	MARĀTHAS	OTHER HINDUS	TOTAL HINDUS
Ist Phase (1658-78)	1,95,500/ 1,30,050	1,14,000/ 68,250	79,500/ 58,250	51,000/ 26,700	1,14,500/ 73,500	5,54,500/ 3,56,750	78,500/ 54,400	37,000/ 23,000	15,000/ 5,700	1,30,500/ 83,100
Sawār:Zāt Ratio in Percent	66.52	59.86	73.27	52.35	64.19	64.33	69.29	54.76	38.0	61.32
IInd Phase (1679-1707)	1,56,000/ 1,02,150	1,05,500/ 62,700	66,000/ 42,450	73,000/ 53,300	2,27,500/ 1,57,700	6,28,000/ 4,18,300	96,000/ 65,750	2,11,500/ 1,25,050	33,500/ 21,000	3,41,000/ 2,11,800
Sawār:Zāt Ratio in Percent	65.48	59.43	64.31	73.01	69.31	66.60	68.48	59.12	62.68	62.11

CHAPTER - FIVE

IRĀNĪS AND THE MAJOR OFFICES IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

A. SHĀHJAHĀN

B. AURANGZEB.

CHAPTER FIVE

IRĀNIANS AND THE MAJOR OFFICES IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

(a) SHĀHJAHĀN

A study of the major offices including central ministers may help us understanding the extent of influence exercised by the Irānīs in the administration under Shāhjahān. Separate lists have been appended to this chapter which give a yearwise break-down of the major central offices according to the racial group of the incumbents.[1] These offices are -- Vakīl, Wazīr or Dīwān-i Kul, Mīr Bakhshī, Mīr Sāmān, Ṣadr-us Ṣudūr, Mīr Ātish, Dārogha-i Topkhāna, Mīr Tuzuk, Dīwān-i Buyūtāt, 'Arẓ-i Mukarrar, Second Bakhshī, Bakhshī of Aḥdīs, Ākhtabegī, Qarāwalbegī, Qūrbegī and Qaushbegī. Our information is meagre for certain offices as they are casually mentioned but for others we have complete entries till the end of Shāhjahān's reign though, sometimes gaps do occur there as well.

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1. These lists have been prepared from M. Athar Ali's Apparatus op.cit., pp. 95-345. The numbers after each entry for reference are the serial numbers given in the Apparatus.

Shāhjahān's premier Irānī noble, Āṣaf Khān, was the only vakīl, and last in the chain of successors to this office, under Shāhjahān as no one was appointed to this office after Āṣaf Khān's death in 1640-41.[1] After his accession to the throne Shāhjahān appointed Āṣaf Khān to this highest post (next to the Emperor) and having awarded the manṣab of 9000/9000 (2-3h),[2] hitherto unknown, made him the highest grandee of the empire. This was, of course, the sole privilege of Āṣaf Khān and none achieved such a high rank and position throughout the Mughal period.

WAZĪR OR DĪWĀN-I KUL:

It appears from the table that out of nine Dīwāns or Wazīrs who have been appointed as many as six were Irānīs. Of the remaining three, two were Indian Muslims and one was a Hindu. Among the Indian Muslims Ḥakīm ʿAlīmuddīn Wazīr Khān held office very briefly as he was appointed Wazīr[3] after Shāhjahān's accession in 1627-28 and the same year was replaced by the Irānī noble, Mīr Muḥammad Bāqar Irādat Khān (Aʿẓam Khān).[4]

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1. Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, New Delhi (Reprint) 1970, p. 134.
2. Lāhorī, I (a), pp. 180, 193; Ṣāliḥ, I, p. 284.
3. Lāhorī, I (a), p. 117.
4. Ibid., p. 159.

ʿAllāmī Sa'adullah Khān held the office for about ten years from 1645-46 to 1655-56. Among Irānians ʿAllāmī Afẓal Khān Shirāzī retained this office for the maximum period of about eleven years from 1628-29 till his death in 1638-39. Islām Khān Mashhadī another Irānī, then held the office of wizārat for the next seven years (till 1645-46), to be succeeded by Sa'adullah Khān.[1] In 1655-56 Rāi Raghūnāth was appointed Deputy Dīwān[2] after Sa'adullah Khān's death and held the charge of the office fleetingly, since Mīr Jumla, Muʿaẓẓam Khān, the celebrated Irānī adventurer and statesman was now made Dīwān-i Kul.[3]

Interestingly enough all the wazīrs, Dīwāns held the manṣab of 5000 ẓāt at the time of their appointment with the exception of Rāi Raghūnāth (holding 1000 ẓāt), who acted temporarily in this office. This suggests that the office was so elevated that only a noble with a minimum rank of 5000 ẓāt was perhaps eligible for the post of wazīr or Dīwān-i Kul.

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1. Lāhorī, II, pp. 430, 431, 433. Lāhorī (Vol. II, 430) also gives one Mīr Ashraf the son of Muḥammad Aslam holding the office of Dīwān-i Kul in succession to Islām Khān Mashhadī. But it appears that he did not perhaps join the office and ultimately Sa'adullah Khān was appointed Wazīr-i Kul (Ibid., 433). M. Athar Ali has also not included Mīr Ashraf in the list of Central Ministers. Cf. Apparatus, p. xxx.

2. Ṣāliḥ, III, pp. 218, 220; E.F.I., Vol. X, pp. 66,67.

3. Ibid., III, 231; M.U., III, pp. 530-55.

MĪR BAKHSHĪ:

The office of Mīr Bakhshī appears to have remained the monopoly of Irānīs. All the thirteen Mīr Bakhshis of Shāhjahān were Irānīs, and of these seven belonged to I'timād-ud Daula's family. The latter are Irādat Khān A'ẓam Khān, Ṣādiq Khān, Roushan Ẓamīr Ṣalābat Khān, 'Abdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān, Ja'afar Khān, Khalīlullah Khān and Bahmanyār I'timād Khān. Ṣādiq Khān and Ṣalābat Khān held this office for about eight years and six years respectively. I'tiqād Khān also held it continuously for about seven years except for a short while when he was on leave owing to illness.[1] Thus I'timād-ud Daula's house controlled the office for 25 out of 32 years of Shāhjahān's reign. As regards the manṣabs it appears that the minimum rank was lower than required for the office of Wazīr, but still quite high. Only nobles, ranging from 3000 to 5000 zāt, are found to have been appointed Mīr Bakhshī.

MĪR-I SĀMĀN:

The office of Mīr Sāmān was also held, most of the time, by Irānīs as out of six of them only one, Sa'adullah Khān, was an Indian Muslim. He held the office of Mīr Sāmān

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1. Wāriṣ, p. 205; Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 153.

for three years and for the remaining period of about twenty-nine years Irānīs are found to have been appointed. It seems that generally nobles holding a manṣab of 2000 to 3000 ẕāt were appointed. Mullā 'Alāul Mulk Tūnī Fāẓil Khān who held the rank of 1500/200 at the time of his appointment in 1646 was promoted to the rank of 2000/500 in 1647.[1] He remained in this office till the end of Shāhjahān's reign obtaining promotion to the rank of 3000/1000.[2] Shukrullah Afẓal Khān Shīrāzī is the only exception of a Mīr Sāmān under Shāhajahān who held the rank of 4000/2000 in 1627.[3] But his was the shortest term in the office as the next year (1628) he was made Wazīr being promoted to the rank of 5000/2500.[4]

ṢADR-US ṢUDŪR:

Of the three Ṣadrs of Shāhjahān the most important and the only Irānian was Mūsavī Khān, the remaining two being Indian Muslims, Saiyid Jalāl Bukhārī and Saiyid Hidāyat Ullah Qādrī. Mūsavī Khān held the office for fifteen years, that is, nearly equal to the total tenure of his two Indian successors. Mūsavī Khān's rank in 1627 was 3000/750[5] which was

1. Lāhorī, II, pp. 491-2; Wāriṣ, p. 58.
2. Ṣāliḥ, III, pp. 271, 456.
3. Lāhorī, I(a), pp. 74, 177; Ṣāliḥ, I, p. 274.
4. Ibid., pp. 229, 257; Ṣāliḥ, I, p. 331.
5. Ibid., pp. 181, 200.

raised to 4000/750[1] in 1631. Saiyid Jalāl Bukhārī (previous rank 4000/700), however, received greater promotions and was made a manṣabdār of 6000/2000[2] within a short period of five years (1642-1646). Saiyid Hidāyatullah Qādrī however had a much inferior rank, it being only 1,500/200[3] in 1646 and 2500/300[4] in 1656.

MĪR-I ĀTISH AND DĀROGHA-I TOPKHĀNA:

Seemingly interchangeable the two terms Mīr-i Ātish and Dārogha-i Topkhāna occur in our sources. The two designations have mostly been considered by modern scholars as synonymous.[5] Ishtiaque Husain Qureshi however, gives a somewhat different explanation saying that the artillery was under

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1. Lāhorī, I(a), 408; I(b), p. 297.
2. Ibid., II, pp. 316, 351, 422, 479, 511, 627.
3. Wāriṣ, p. 7.
4. Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 457; Apparatus, No. S6762.
5. Jadunath Sarkar puts the gunners (or artillery men proper) and musketeers (bandūq- chī) under one branch-Fire-arms men, and says that "Both these sections were under one head called the Mīr Ātish or Dārogha-i topkhāna and drew their munitions from one department". (Mughal Administration, 5th edition, Calcutta 1963, p. 204). See also Irvine (The Army of the Indian Moghuls, New Delhi, 1962, p. 154) for a similar view.

the Mir-i Atish and in addition there were several other officers attached to the artillery of whom there was a dārogha who assisted the mir-i ātish in his executive duties.[1] This view seems justified, for when we try to list officers with these designations under Shāhjahān, it becomes clear that they held two separate offices, with the mir ātish generally enjoying higher ranks.[2]

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1. The Administration of the Mughal Empire, Reprint, Patna, 1979, p. 129.

2. There are, however, some difficulties arising out of statements in our texts. For example, after the death of Khidmat Parast Khān (Mir Ātish) Ihtimām Khān was appointed Dārogha-i topkhāna in 1629. In 1632 he was appointed Mir Ātish. The latter again was succeeded in 1639 by Zūlfiqār Khān as Dārogha-i topkhāna.

   In 1642, in succession to Ghazanfar the son of Ilahvardi Khān, Murshid Quli was appointed Dārogha-i topkhāna but the next year (1643), he is mentioned as Mir Ātish. Similarly, Muhammad Qāsim, son of Hāshim Khān, held the office of Mir Ātish and Kotwālship of the royal camp (Mir Ātishi wa Kotwāli-i Urdū-i Mu'allá) in 1645; when in 1646 he was sent to Balkh Muzaffar Husain was appointed in his place, as Dārogha-i topkhāna and Kotwāl of the royal camp. The two offices are however, found to have been occupied simultaneously by two different persons at the same time. In 1649 Muhammad Qāsim Qāsim Khān held the office of Mir Ātish while 'Abdul Bāqi, son of Mir Muhammad Isfahāni held the post of Dārogha-i topkhāna.

Mīr-i Ātish	Dārogha-i Topkhāna
1. Razā Bahādur, Khidmat Parast Khān(x) 2500/1500	1. Ihtimām Khān(Ind.M.) 1000/250
2. Khalīlullah Khān(I) 2000/1000	2. Zūlfiqār Khān (I)
3. Murshid Qulī Khān(I)	3. Ghazanfar (I) 800/400
4. Muhammad Qāsim Mu'tamad Khān, Qāsim Khān(I) 4000/4000	4. Murshid Qulī Khān (I)
5. Ja'far, Barqandāz Khān(I) 1500/600	5. Muzaffar Husain (I)1000/400
	6. Muhammad Murād Yaldoz(T)
	7. 'Abdul Bāqī (I) 900/600
	8. Khwāja Rahmatullah, Sarbuland Khān (T)

Therefore,it appears that Mīr Ātish and Dārogha-i-Topkhāna were two different officers or the latter sometimes acted on behalf of the former (being his assistant) whenever he was away on a military expedition. As many as five Mīr-Ātish are known to have been appointed during Shāhjahān's reign. Among them the racial group of one is not known; all the other four were Irānīs. Similarly, among the Dāroghas of top khāna, eight in all, as many as five were Irānīs, two were Tūrānīs and one Indian Muslim. The Irānīs thus held both these offices in the artillery for the longest period during Shāhjahān's reign.

M̄IR TUZUK:

Mīr Tuzuk (or master of ceremonies),[1] occurs in the chronicles as an important central officer. His main function was to maintain order at the court and to control the crowd of visitors at the time when the emperor gave public audiences or when he was on march. Surprisingly enough, modern authorities on Mughal administration have largely neglected this important office. In his 17th R.Y. (1643) Shāhjahān, having found one Mīr Tuzuk unable to perform his duties effectively, expanded the office by adding three more Mīr Tuzuks.[2] The manṣabs of the Mīr Tuzuks varied from 1000 ẕāt and 2000 ẕāt, though before 1643, two held ranks below 1000 ẕāt[3] and one above 2000 ẕāt.[4] Till 1643, when only one Mīr Tuzuk was appointed at one time, seven persons are known to have been appointed as Mīr Tuzuks under Shāhjahān. Of these five were Irānīs, one was a Tūrānī and one remains unidentified. Thus in the first phase, when one Mīr Tuzuk was appointed, the office remained for the maximum period in the hands of Irānīs.

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1. H. Beveridge in M.U. translates it as Master of Ceremonies, court chamberlain and Provost Marshal.
2. Lāhorī, II, p. 350.
3. They are Mīr Khān, 900/200 and Khalīl Beg, 500/50.
4. He is Raẓā Bahādur Khidmat Parast Khān, 2500/1500.

During the second phase (after 1643), owing to the multiplicity of persons holding the office, the fifteen years saw as many as twenty-one persons as <u>Mīr Tuzuks</u>. Out of these eleven were Irānīs, and five Tūrānīs. Of the rest, two were Indian Muslims, one Afghān, two remain unidentified.

It is significant that throughout the second phase though the Irānīs predominantly occupied the office of <u>Mīr Tuzuk</u>, there is not a single year in which a Tūrānī is not found as <u>Mīr Tuzuk</u>. This constant representation of Tūrānīs in the <u>Tuzuk</u> department was an important feature of Shāhjahān's reign.

<u>DĪWĀN-I BUYŪTĀT</u>:

The list of incumbents of this office is practically complete till the 30th year; and it is likely that Muḥammad Ṣālih Kirmānī who held the office in the 30th year continued till the end of the reign. The list shows that in the period of three decades, there were nine <u>Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt</u> of whom six were Irānīs, two Hindus and one Indian Muslim. Among the Irānīs Makarmat Khān, Mullā Murshid Shīrāzī held the office for about eight years (from 1627 to 1635) with a short break when Qāẓī Muḥammad Sa'īd Karharūdī was <u>Dīwān-i Buyūtāt</u>. Rāi Mukand Dās held this

office for the longest period of about thirteen years (from 1642 to 1654), he was succeeded by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khawāfī, who was soon succeeded by Mīr Ja'afar Astarābādī. The latter was replaced by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kirmānī in 1656.

It is interesting that Rāi Mukand Dās, who held the office of Buyūtāt for the maximum number of years, held the lowest rank (500/100) as against those of his predecessors in this office. The ranks of his three successors are, however, not known. Here again, the tendency to assign a higher manṣab to Irānī officers, compared to Indians, is manifest.

'ARẒ-I MUKARRAR:

The list of officers of 'Arẓ-i Mukarrar is not complete as the appointments in this office are known for seventeen years only. In all ten persons are known to have held this office. Of these as many as eight were Irānīs and the rests were Indian Muslims. Manṣabdārs between 1000 ẕāt and 4000 ẕāt are found to have been appointed to this office.

SECOND BAKHSHĪ:

As many as twelve persons are known to have been appointed Second Bakhshī during the reign of Shāhjahān. Among them only one was a Tūrānī, while the remaining

eleven were Irānis. More: Fakhruddin Ahmad Tarbiyat Khān, the only Tūrānī, held this office for about one year only, so that the Irānis really held a monopoly of appointments to it. The ranks of the incumbents ranged from 2000 to 4000 zāt. It was, therefore, an office of some status.

BAKHSHĪ OF AHDĪS:

This was apparently an inferior office as lower grade manṣabdārs are known to have been appointed to it. Their ranks varied from 500 to 1500 zāt. With the exception of a few persons, the appointees were generally allowed to retain this office for a period of one or two years at the most. Sometimes within a year, two or three persons are known to have been appointed one after the other. In 1634 Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān was appointed Bakhshī of Ahdīs in succession to ʿAbdur Rahmān, son of Ṣādiq Khān,[1] soon to be replaced by Mīr Khān.[2] Some times more than one persons appear in a year holding this post. This becomes very confusing as the chronicles do not clarify whether one is being appointed in succession to the other or two persons were holding the same office at a time.

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1. Lāhorī, I(b), p. 67.
2. Ibid., p. 101.

For instance, in 1645 two Qāẓī Ṭāhir Āṣaf Khānī and Nūrul[1] Ḥasan[2] are both mentioned as holding this post. In 1646[3] Nūrul Ḥasan again appears with Sh[illegible]in Mukhtār Khān and in 1647 with Multafat Khān and 'Askarī[4]; in 1648 Nūrul Ḥasan again held this post.[5] It may be argued that probably Nūrul Ḥasan was appointed as Mīr Bakhshī of Aḥdīs and the other three persons were appointed as Second Bakhshī of Aḥdīs.[6] Another source of confusion is the appointment of Mīr Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Multafat Khān in 1652-53.[7] For in 1651-52 Saiyid Bahādur son of Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān held the post of Bakhshī of Aḥdīs,[8] and it was he who was replaced by Ismā'īl Beg (probably the son of 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul Umarā') in 1658.[9]

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1. Ṣāliḥ, II, p. 449.
2. Ibid., p. 465. M. Athar Ali however, does not record these two officers under this year. See Apparatus, Op.cit.
3. Lāhorī, II, p. 555; Ṣāliḥ, II, p. 498.
4. Ibid., 634, 752; Wāriṣ, p. 6; Ṣāliḥ, II, 517,518.
5. Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 66. Both Lāhorī and Wāriṣ do not mention this appointment.
6. We find some persons being appointed as 2nd Bakhshī of Aḥdīs. For example in 1652 Muḥammad Amīn Bakhshī of Shāgird Pesha was also entrusted with the office of 2nd Bakhshī of Aḥdīs (Wāriṣ,189); in 1653 Muḥammad Ibrāhīm son of Ṭāhir Iṣfahānī was appointed 2nd Bakhshī of Aḥdīs (Wāriṣ, 215); in 1654 Qāẓī 'Arif Kashmīrī was appointed 2nd Bakhshi of Aḥdis (Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 192)and in 1655 he was replaced by Muḥammad Ja'afar son of Muqīm Khān(Wāriṣ, p. 312; Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 213).
7. Wāriṣ, p. 249; M.U., III, p. 611.
8. Apparatus No. S 5440.
9. Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 271.

Any way out of the sixteen Bakhshis of Ahdis, known to have been appointed during Shāhjahān's reign, seven were Irānis, two Tūrānis,[1] two Indian Muslims and one Hindu. Of the rest the racial identity can not be established. Their ranks ranged from 500 to 1500 zāt. But the rank of Qāzī 'Ārif Kashmiri, who was second Bakhshi of Ahdis, was as high as 4000/2000 in 1655.[2] It may also be pointed out that the Irānis, though in greater number, could not hold the office for long periods. Their average tenure was less than two years. Among those who held the office for a long period were Ibrāhīm Husain Marahmat Khān (possibly Irānī) who held it for about four years (1627-30), Khalīl Beg, a Tūrānī, remained in this office more than three years, and Saiyid Bahādur, an Indian Muslim, enjoyed the longest tenure, in spite of a possible short interruption when Mīr Ibrāhīm Husain Multafat Khān held the office.

The fact that the tenures of Irānis were relatively short may, however, be due to the simple reason that promotions came faster to them. Thus 'Abdur Rahmān was made 'Arz-i Mukarrar in 1636.[3] Mīr 'Abdul Hādī Asālat Khān, who

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1. M. Athar Ali counts three as he has identified Muzaffar Husain (S 4663) a Tūrānī. While he was Muzaffar Husain Fedāi Khān A'zam Khān Koka; a brother of Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang Kokaltāsh the son of Mīr Abūl Ma'ālī Khawāfī.

2. Wāris, p.272; Cf. Apparatus No. S 6331, p. 291.

3. Lāhorī, I(b) 234 where his appointment as 'Arz-i Mukarrar is mentioned as having ceased which suggests that he was appointed sometime earlier.

succeeded ʿAbdur Raḥmān as Bakhshī of Aḥdīs in 1634, was soon appointed ṣūbedār of Delhi in succession to Bāqir Khān Najm Ṣānī.[1] Mīr Khān was later on assigned additional office of Mīr Tuzuk.[2] Shamsuddīn Mukhtār Khān was appointed Bakhshī of the Deccan in 1647,[3] and Muẓaffar Ḥusain (Fedāī Khān Koka) was made Bakhshī of Kabul in 1650.[4]

ĀKHTABEGĪ:

The author of Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā' points out that this was so important an office that none but very trusted persons were appointed to it.[5] Out of fourteen[6] Ākhtabegīs of Shāhjahān's reign eleven were Irānīs; this shows then that Irānīs especially enjoyed Imperial trust. The ranks of the incumbents ranged from 1000 to 3000 zāt.

QARĀWAL BEGĪ:

The post of Qarāwalbegī (Chief huntsman) is singular in that only Irānīs were appointed to this post throughout the reign of Shāhjahān. It is also interesting that all the Qarāwalbegīs are Khānazāds belonging to highly reputed

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1. Lāhorī I(b) 87, 280.
2. Ibid., 105; Qazwīnī, f. 350(a); also Apparatus No.S 1142, p. 132.
3. Wāriṣ, p. 31; Apparatus, No. S.4348, p. 229.
4. Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 134; Apparatus, No. S 5462, p. 262.
5. M.U.,I(b), p. 592.
6. This list is not complete.

families of the empire. The post remained in the family of Ilahvardī Khān for a very long period. Ilahvardī Khān held the office during the first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign while his son Ja'afar held it for the last ten years.[1] With the exception of Mīr Ṣāliḥ (rank 500/80) the ranks of the appointees were generally between 1000 to 3000 zāt.

QŪRBEGĪ (Keeper of Arsenal):

Apparently another important Central office to which mostly the Irānīs are found to have been appointed. From the 5th R.Y. (1631)[2] till the end of Shāhjahān's reign as many as eight Qūrbegīs were appointed. Among them Sardār Khān was the lone Tūrānī. It is interesting that among the Irānīs, except for Mirzā Lahrasp Khān, the rest were related to or belonged to the house of I'timādud Daula. Their ranks again ranged from 1000 to 3000 zāt.

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1. See the list of Qarāwalbegīs.
2. For the first four years appointments are not known.

QAUSHBEGĪ (Chief Falconer):

Although possibly a largely titular office, those appointed to it usually held *zāt* ranks ranging from 1500 to 4000. Appointments for the first six years are not known; for the remaining period of 25 years a total of eight *Qaushbegīs* are known, of whom five were Irānīs and three Tūrānīs. All the Irānīs belonged to established Irānian families and were related to the house of I'timād-ud Daula. However, Qubād *Khān* a Tūrānī held the longest tenure, of as many as twelve continuous years.[1]

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1. See the list of *Qaushbegīs*.

APPENDIX

LIST OF NOBLES HOLDING MAJOR OFFICES UNDER SHĀH JAHĀN

R.Y.	Date	Vakīl	Wazīr/Dīwān-i Kul	Mīr Bakhshī	Mīr Sāmān
1	1627-28	Āṣaf Khān(I) 9000/9000(2-3h) (S 16, S 228)	Hakīm ʻAlīmuddīn Wazīr Khān(Ind. M.)5000/3000 (S 18, S 67); Irādat Khān Āʻzam Khān (I) 5000/5000 (S 96)	Irādat Khān Aʻzam Khān(I)5000/5000 (A.C.) (S 96); Ṣādiq Khān (I) 4000/4000 (S 105)	Afzal Khān Mullā Shukrullah (I) 4000/2000 (S 101, S 320; A.C. S 342)
2	1628-29	"	Afẓal Khān Shīrāzī(I) 5000/2500 (S 342)	"	Muḥammad Amīn Mīr Jumla (I)3000/1040 (S 343).
3	1629-30	"	"	"	"
4	1630-31	"	"	"	"
5	1631-32	"	"	"	"
6	1632-33	"	"	Died (A.C.) (S 905) Islām Khān Mashhadī (I) 5000/5000 (2000X2-3h) (S 917)	" (S 784)

7	1633-34	"	"	"	"
8	1634-35	"	"	(A.C.) (S 1024) Muḥammad Amīn Mīr Jumla (I)5000/2000 (S 1037)	"(A.C.) (S 1037)
9	1635-36	"	"	"	-
10	1636-37	"	"	"(S 1348)	Makarmat Khān,Mullā Murshid Shīrāzī(I) 2500/1500 (S 1349)
11	1637-38	"(S 1512)	"	Died (A.C.) (S 1463) Muḥammad Sharīf Mu'atamad Khān (I) 4000/1200 (S 1464).	"
12	1638-39	"	" Died(A.C.) (S2326) Islām Khān Mashhadī(I) 5000/5000 (4000x2-3h) (S 2358)	"(S 2253)	"
13	1639-40	"	"	"(A.C.)(S 2347) Raushan Ẓamīr, Ṣalābat Khān(I) 3000/1500(S 2346)	"

14.	1640-41	Died (A.C.) (S 2802)	"	"	"
15.	1641-42	-	"	"	'In[illegible]atullah 'Āqil Khān(I) 2000/[illegible]00 (S 2796)
16.	1642-43	-	"	"	"
17.	1643-44	-	"	"	Sa'adullah Khān (Ind. M.)2000/500 (S 3062)
18.	1644-45	-	"	Died (A.C.) (S 3232) 'Abdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān(I)3000/2500 (S 3177)	"
19.	1645-46	-	" (A.C.)(S 3416) Mīr Ashraf S/o Muḥammad Aslam Khān(I) 1000/200 (S 3419). Sa'adullah Khān (Ind.M.) 5000/1500 (S 3429)	"	"

20.	1646-47	-	"	" 5000/4000 (S 3611)	Fāzil Khān,'Alāul Mulk (I) 1500/200 (S 3558)
21.	1647-48	-	"	Died(A.C.)(S 3763) Ja'far Khān(I) 5000/4000(S 3799)	"
22.	1648-49	-	"	"	"
23.	1649-50	-	"	"(A.C.)(S 4667) Khalīlullah Khān(I) 4000/3000(S 4669)	"
24.	1650-51	-	"	" (A.C.)(S 5415) Lahrāsp Khān (I) 4000/3000 (S 5414)	"
25.	1651-52	-	"	Bahmanyār,Khānazād Khān I'tiqād Khān (I) 4000/500 (S 5550)	"
26.	1652-53	-	"	" (S 5777)	"
27.	1653-54	-	"	" (S 5977)	" (S 6027)

28.	1654-55	-	"	"	" (S 6159)
29.	1655-56	-	" Died (A.C.) (S 6564) Rāi Raghūnāth(H) 1000/400(S 6565) Mīr Muḥammad Saīd Mīr Jumla(I) 5000/5000 (S 6329)	"	"
30.	1656-57	-	"	"(A.C.)(S 7199) Dānishmand Khān(I) 3000/800(S 7198)	" (S 7200)
31.	1657-58	-	" (A.C.) (S 7258)	"	"
32.	1658	-	Ja'far Khān (I) 5000/5000 (2500x 2-3h) (S 7309)	" (A.C.) (S 7303) Muḥammad Amīn Khān (I) 3000/1500 (S 7304)	" (S 7311)

R.Y.	Date	Ṣadr-us Ṣudūr	Mīr Ātish/Dārogha-i Top Khāna (D.T.)	Mīr Tuzuk	Dīwān-i Buyūtāt
1.	1627-28	Mūsavī Khān(I) 3000/750 (S 111)	-	Razā Bahādur Khidmat Parast Khān (x) 2000/1000 (S 28)	Mullā Murshid Shīrāzī, Makarmat Khān(I) 1000/200 (S 225)
2.	1628-29	"	Razā Bahādur Khidmat Parast Khān Mīr Ātish, 2500/1500 (Ṣāliḥ I, 351).	"	"
3.	1629-30	"	" Died (S 471)	Kamāluddīn Ḥusain, Jān Niṣār Khān(T) 2500/1040 (A.C.) (S 388) Khalīlullah Khān(I) (S 437)	"
4.	1630-31	"	Ihtimām Khān(Ind.M) D.T., 1000/250 (S 525)	"	" 1000/400 (S 530)

5.	1631-32	" 4000/750 (S 658)	"	"	"
6.	1632-33	" (S 783)	Khalīl Ullah Khān(I) Mīr Ātish,1500/500 (S 791)	" (A.C.) (S 795) Murshid Qulī, Murawwat Khān(I) 1500/500 (S 794)	" 1500/600 (S 798)
7.	1633-34	"	"	"	"
8.	1634-35	"	"	" 1500/1000 (S 1052)	" (A.C.) (S 927) Qāzī Muhammad Sa'īd Karharūdī (Ind. M.) 1000/200 (S 926) (A.C.) (S 1045) Makarmat Khān (I) 2000/1000 (Second time)(S 1047)
9.	1635-36	"	"	" (A.C.) (S 1141) Mīr Khān(I) 900/200 (S 1142)	" (S1156)
10.	1636-37	" (S 1362)	" (Sālih II,175) Abūl Faiz(Ind.M) D.T. (S 1238)	"	-

11.	1637-38	"	Khalīlullah Khān(I) 2000/1000 (also Qarāwalbegī) (S 1952).	" (S 1935)	-
12.	1638-39	"	"	"	Multafat Khān (I) 1500/600 (S 2221); (A.C.) (S 2295). 'Ināyatullah 'Āqil Khān (I) (S 2294)
13.	1639-40	"	Khānlar Zūlfiqār Khān(I) D.T. (S 2406).	"	"
14.	1640-41	"	"	" (A.C.)(S 2609) Khalīl Beg (T) 500/150(S 2608).	"
15.	1641-42	"	"	Ghazanfar S/o Ilahvardī Khān(I) (Lāhorī, II, 236)	" (A.C.) (S 2796) Diānat Rāi, Rāi Rāyān (H) (S 2798)

16.	1642-43	"(A.C.) (S 2927) Saiyid Jalāl Bukhārī(Ind.M.) 4000/700(S 2928)	Ghazanfar s/o Ilahvardī Khān(I) D.T., 800/400 (S 2932); (A.C.) (S 2942) Murshid Qulī (I) D.T.,(S 2941)	"(A.C.) (S 2932) Mīr Khān(I)1000/500 (S 2931)	Rāi Mukand Dās(H) 500/100 (S 2925)
17.	1643-44	" 4000/1000 (S 3081)	" Mīr Ātish (S 3059)	1. "(Ṣāliḥ,II, 409) 2. Mubārak Rū s/o Saif Khān (I) Tuzuk, (S 3071)	"
18.	1644-45	"	"	Mīr Khān,Died (S 3176) 1.Khwāja Abūl Baqā Iftikhār Khān(T) 1500/500,Tuzuk, (S 3183) 2.Ḥusain Beg Khān Żīg(I) Tuzuk (S 3373)	"

19.	1645-46	"(S 3395)	Muhammad Qāsim S/o Hāshim Khān(I), 1000/500 Mir Ātish (S 3378)	1. Husain Beg Khān Zig(I), Tuzuk, 1000/400(S 3423) 2. Shafiullah Barlās(T) Mir Tuzuk, Lāhori II, 477, 479. 3. Yādgār Beg Jān Nisār Khān(I) Mir Tuzuk, 1000/ 500(Sālih II, 467). 4. Abdul Kāfi Nawāzish Khān(I) Mir Tuzuk, 1000/200 (Sālih II, 461, 472).	"
20.	1646-47	"(S 3579)	"(now Mu'tamad Khān) 1500/800 (S 3671) Cf. Sālih II, 511, 525, 560. Muzaffar Husain(I) D.T. (Lāhori II, 492; Sālih II, 468.	1. Shafiullah Barlās(T) (Lāhori II, 609) 2. Saiyid Bahādur (Ind.M.) vice Jān Nisār Khān (Sālih II, 468) 3. Nurul Hasan(Ind.[illegible]) (Sālih II, 518) 4. Mir Khalil S/o Azam Khān(I) 1000/300(S 3580)	"

21.	1647-48	Died (A.C.)(S 3800) Saiyid Hidāyatullah Qādrī(Ind.M.) 1500/200(S 4276)	Mu'tamad Khān Mīr Ātish, (Ṣāliḥ III,15,62)	1.Khwāja 'Ināyat-ullah(T) (S 4345) 2.Shafi'ullah Barlās(T) Mīr Tuzuk (Ṣāliḥ II,517) 3.Nawāzish Khān(I)	" (S 3776)
22.	1648-49	"	"	1.Khwāja 'Ināyat-ullah(T) (S 4398) 2.Fākhir Khān Najm Ṣānī(I) (S 4434)vice Nawāzish Khān (S 4433). 3.Shafi'ullah Barlās(T) Mīr Tuzuk (S 4419) 4.Muzaffar Husain Fedāi Khān(I) (M.U.I, 247)	"

23.	1649-50	" 2000/200 (S 5232)	Mu'tamad Khān, now Qāsim Khān 3000/200, (S 4537; S 4616)	1. Muzaffar Husain (I) (S 4590) 2. Jān Nisār Khān (I), 2000/200 Mir Tuzuk (S 4672) 3. Shafiullah Barlās (T) Mir Tuzuk (Sālih III, 104). 4. Bahrām S/o Sādiq Khān (I), Tuzuk, (Sālih III, 99).	"
24.	1650-51	"	"	1. Mir Ishāq S/o A'zam Khān (I) 1000/300 Mir Tuzuk, (S 5221) 2. Saiyid Bahādur (Ind. M.) Mir Tuzuk, (S 5280) vice Jān Nisār Khān (I) (S 5278).	" (S 5348)

25.	1651-52	" 2500/200 (S 5577)	" 3000/2000 (S 5503)	1. Shafi'ullah Barlās, Tarbiyat Khān(T) 1500/1500, Mīr-Tuzuk (S 5516) 2. Khwāja Raḥmatullah Sarbuland Khān(T) Mīr Tuzuk, (S 5481) 3. Īrij Khān(I) 2000/1500, Mīr Tuzuk, (S 5547)	"
26.	1652-53	" (S 5718)	" Mīr Ātish (Ṣāliḥ III, 156) Shafi'ullah Barlās Saifuddīn Tarbiyat Khān(T) D.T. (S 5679)	1. Shafi'ullah Tarbiyat Khān (T) Mīr Tuzuk(Wāriṡ, 197) 2. Muẓaffar Ḥusain (I) 1000/500 Mīr-Tuzuk (S 5596). 3. Khwāja Raḥmatullah(T), Mīr-Tuzuk (S 5741)	"
27.	1653-54	"	Qāsim Khān (I) Mīr Ātish, 3500/2500(S 5918)	1. Muẓaffar Ḥusain(I) Mīr Tuzuk (S 5908) 2. Khwāja Raḥmatullah (T) Mīr Tuzuk (Ṣāliḥ III, 183).	"

28.	1654-55	" (S 6158)	" 4000/2500 (S 6163)	1. Tarbiyat Khān(T) 2000/800(Ṣāliḥ III, 189) 2. ʿAbdullah, Mukhliṣ Khān S/o Manṣūr Ḥājī (T)2000/800, Mīr Tuzuk (S 5970) 3. Asadullah S/o Sher Khwāja (X) 1000/600, Mīr-Tuzuk(S 6141)	" (A.C.)(S 6004) Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Khawāfī (I) (S 6003)
29.	1655-56	"	" 4000/3000 (Ṣāliḥ III, 215)	1. Muẓaffar Ḥusain, Fedāi Khān(I) 1500/600, Mīr-Tuzuk, (S 6376) vice Tarbiyat Khān(T) (S 6374). 2. Mīr Khān(I) 1500/500, Mīr-Tuzuk (S 6353) Vice Mukhliṣ Khān (T) (S 6354) 3. Khwāja Raḥmatullah Sarbuland Khān(T) 1000/400, Mīr-Tuzuk (S 6365).	" (A.C.)(S 6173) Mīr Ja'far Astarābādī (I) (S 6175)

30	1656-57	" 2500/300 (S 6762)	Ja'far Barq Andāz Khān S/o Ilahvardī Khān, 1500/600 Mīr Ātish (S 6457)	1. Muḥammad Qulī(x) 1500/500, Mīr Tuzuk (S 6463) vice Asadullah S/o Rashīd Khān Anṣārī(Af.) (S 6464) 2. Mīr Khān Mīr Mīrān(I)	"(A.C.) (S 6406) Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kirmānī(I) (S 6407)
31	1657-58	"(S7480)	Khwāja Raḥmat-ullah Sarbuland Khān(T) 1000/500, D.I., (S 7324).	1. Ḥusain Beg Khān (I), Mīr Tuzuk (S 7296) vice Mīr Mīrān Mīr Khān(I)(S 7295) 2. Farhād Beg ʿAlī Mardān Khānī(I) Mīr Tuzuk, (S 7326).	Muḥammad Muqīm B/o Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ(I) (S 7299)

R.Y.	Date	'Arẓ-i Mukarrar	Second Bakhshī	Bakhshī of Aḥdīs	Ākhtabegī
1.	1627-28	Ḥakīm Ṣadrā, Masiḥuzzamān(I) 3000/500 (S 97)	Mīr ʿAbdus Salām Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān, Islām Khān Mashhadī (I) 4000/2000 (S 98)	Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Maraḥmat Khān (x) 1000/500 (S 231)	-
2.	1628-29	"	"	"	-
3.	1629-30	"	" (A.C.) (S 394) Mu'tamad Khān, Muḥammad Sharīf (I) 3000/1000 (S 395)	"	Murshid Qulī Murawwat Khān (I) 1000/300 (S 438)
4.	1630-31	"	"	Died (A.C.)(S 550) Jaswant Rāi (H) (S 543)	"
5.	1631-32	" (A.C.) (S 647) Ḥakīm Ḥāziq s/o Ḥakim Hummām Gīlānī(I)1500/600 (s 646)	" (S 669; S 728)	-	"

6.	1632-33	"	" 3500/1000(S 830)	-	" 1500/500 (S 794)
7.	1633-34	"	"	Kāẓim Beg (x)(A.C.) (S 880) ʿAbdur Raḥmān s/o Ṣādiq Khān (I) 1000/600 (S 914)	"
8.	1634-35	" (A.C.) (S 1046) Qāẓī Muḥammad Saʿid Karharūdī (Ind. M.) 1000/200, (S 1045)	"	" (A.C.) (S 1008) Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī, Aṣālat Khān (I) 1500/800 (S 1004); (A.C.) (S 1084); Mīr Khān (I) (S 1083)	" 1500/1000 (A.C.) (S 1003) Fakhruddīn Aḥmad Tarbiyat Khān (T) 1500/1000(S 1002)
9.	1635-36	-	"	" 900/200 (S 1142)	-
10.	1636-37	ʿAbdur Raḥmān s/o Ṣādiq Khān (I) 1000/600 (A.C.) (S 1308) Multafat Khān S/o Aʿẓam Khān (I) 2000/600 (S 1307)	"	"	-

11.	1637-38	-	" (A.C.) (S 1464) Fakhruddin Aḥmad Tarbiyat Khān (T) 2000/1200 (S 1465).	Jamālī Jān Sipār Khān(T) 1500/800 (S 1462)	-
12.	1638-39	ʿInāyat Ullah s/o Amānat Khān(I) 1000/400 (S 2279); Isḥāq Beg Yazdi (I) vice ʿInāyatullah (S 2296)	" (A.C.) (S 2286); Roshan Ẓamīr Ṣalābat Khān (I) 3000/1000, (S 2285)	Khalīl Beg (T) 500/150, (S 2219)	-
13.	1639-40	"	Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī, Aṣālat Khān (I) 3000/2500 (S 2348)	"	Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān(I), 3000/2500 (A.C.) (S 2367); Fakhruddīn Aḥmad, Tarbiyat Khān (T) 2000/1200 (S 2366); (A.C.) (S 2402) Mīr Ẓarīf Fedāi Khān(I) 1000/200 (S 2400)
14.	1640-41	Sa'adullah Khān (Ind. M.) 1000/200 vice ʿInāyatullah (S 2616); (Lāhorī, II, 220)	"	Jān Sipār Khān(T) (Lāhorī II, 149) " (A.C.)(Lāhorī II, 226); Khalīl Beg(T) 500/150 (S 2640)	" Died (A.C.)(S 2656) Khalīlullah Khān (I) 2500/1500, (S 2654; S 2751).

15. 1641-42	"	"	"	-
16. 1642-43	"	"	-	-
17. 1643-44	"(A.C.)(S 3062) Mīrak Shaikh Harvī(I) (S 3064)	"	-	-
18. 1644-45	-	"(A.C.) (S 3177) Khalīlullah Khān (I) 3000/2000, (S 3178)	-	-
19. 1645-46	-	"	-	-
20. 1646-47	-	ʿInāyatullah, ʿĀqil Khān (I) 2500/1000(Lāhorī II, 491); Cf.(S 3557)	Shamsuddīn Mukhtār Khān(I) (S 3604)	Husain Beg Khān Żīg (I)1000/500 (Lāhorī II, 492); Cf. (S 3559)

21. 1647-48	-	" 3000/1000 (Lāhorī II, 678)	Multafat Khān(I) (S 3740); 'Askarī(x) 500/60; (S 4246); Nūrul Ḥasan(Ind.M.) 1000/400 (S 4268)	"
22. 1648-49	-	"	Nūrul Ḥasan(Ind.M.) (Ṣāliḥ III, 66)	" (A.C.) 1500/1000, (S 4396) Mu'tamad Khān s/o Hāshim Khān (I) 2000/1000 (S 4397); Murshid Qulī Khān(I) 1000/400 (S 4482) vice Jān Niṣār Khān(I) 2000/700 (S 4483)
23. 1649-50	-	" Died(A.C.) (S 4570) Khalīlullah Khān (I) 4000/3000 (S 4589); (A.C.) (S 4669) Siyādat Khān B/o Islām Khān Mashhadī (I) 3000/1000(S 4670).	Muzaffar Ḥusain Fedāi Khān(I) (S 4663)	"

24. 1650.	-	" (S 5279) 3000/1500 Yādgār Beg Jān Niṣār Khān(I) 2000/800 (S 5278)	"	"(A.C.) (S 5288) Shafī'ullah Barlās, Saifuddīn Tarbiyat Khān(T) (S 5287)
25. 1650-51	-	"	Saiyid Bahādur (Ind.M.) (S 5440)	"
26. 1651-52	-	" (now Lashkar Khān), 3000/1000 (S 5507; S 5544); Muḥammad Amīn (x) (S 5591)	"	Mīr Isḥāq Irādat Khān(I) (S 5592) Saifuddīn Tarbiyat Khān (A.C.) (S 5594).
27. 1652-53	-	Irādat Khān Mīr Isḥāq (I) 2000/1000 (S 5676; S 5708)	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Multafat Khān(I) S/o Aṣālat Khān (S 5720); Khalīl Beg (now Ri'āyat Khān (T) 1000/800 (S 5778) vice 'Atāullah Khawāfī (I) (S 5779).	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān S/o Zūlfiqār Khān (I) 1500/500 (S 5695; S 5703; S 5762)

28. 1653-54	-	" (A.C.) (S 5901) Jān Niṣār Khān Lashkar Khān(I) 3000/1000 (S 5900; S 5976).	-	"
29. 1654-55	-	" (A.C.) (S 6208) Mullā Shafīyā Dānishmand Khān(I) 2500/600 (S 6209)	-	"
30. 1655-56	-	" 3000/600(S 6345)	Mīram Beg,Riʿāyat Khān(I) (A.C.) (S 6481); Raḥmatullah Khawāfī (I) (S 6416)	"
31. 1656-57	-	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān(I) 2500/800(S 7201)	"	" (A.C.) (S 7201) Khwāja Raḥmatullah Sarbuland Khān (T) 1000/500 (Ṣāliḥ III,244)
32. 1657-58	-	"	Saiyid Bahādur (Ind.M.)(A.C.) 1000/1000(S 7321); Ismaʿīl Beg(x) (S 7320)	" (A.C.) (S 7324) Faiẓullah Khān (I) (S 7325)

R.Y.	Date	Qarāwalbegī	Qūrbegī	Qaushbegī
1.	1627-28	Ilahvardī Khān (I) (Ma'āṣir-i Jahāngīrī, 444, 451, 479).	-	-
2.	1628-29	"	-	-
3.	1629-30	"	-	-
4.	1630-31	" 2500/2000 (Lāhorī I(a), 310-11)	-	-
5.	1631-32	"	Sardār Khān (T)3000/2000 (A.C.) (S 672); Roshan Ẓamīr s/o Ṣādiq Khān (I) 1000/200 (S 671)	-
6.	1632-33	"	"	-
7.	1633-34	"	"	Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī (I) 3000/2000 (Lāhorī,I (b), 17)

8. 1634-35	" 3000/2000 (S 975)	"	"
9. 1635-36	"	"	" 4000/2000 (S 1152)
10. 1636-37	"	"	"
11. 1637-38	Khalīlullah Khān(I) 2000/1000 (S 1952)	"	"
12. 1638-39	"(A.C.) (S 2298); Murād Kām. Ṣafavī (I) 1000/250, (S 2299)	" (A.C.) (S 2285), 3000/1000; Murād Kām Ṣafavī(I) 1000/250, (S 2287); (A.C.) (S 2301); Ṣaf Shikan Khān S/o Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī (I)1000/250 (S 2300)	"
13. 1639-40	"(A.C.) (S 2387); Khalīlullah Khān (I), 2000/1000 (S 2386)	"	" (A.C.) 4000/3000 (S 2393); Fakhruddīn Tarbiyat Khān(T) 2000/1200 (S 2395)

14.	1640-41	" (A.C.) (S 2581); Murād Kām Ṣafavī (I) 1000/400 (S 2580)	"(A.C.) (S 2607); Sardār Khān (T) (S 2606)	Khalīlullah Khān(I) 2500/1500 (S 2694; S 2751)
15.	1641-42	"	-	"
16.	1642-43	"	-	"
17.	1643-44	"	Lahrāsp Khān (I) (Lāhorī II, 344; Ṣāliḥ II, 391)	"
18.	1644-45	Zāhid Khān Koka (I) 2000/1200 (S 3153)	-	"(A.C.)(S 3178); Murād Kām Ṣafavī 1500/400; (S 3179)
19.	1645-46	Died (S 3431)	-	Mirzā Nauzar Ṣafavī(I) 2500/2000 (S 3437)
20.	1646-47	-	-	"

21.	1647-48	Mīr Ṣāliḥ (I) 500/80; (S 4241)	Murād Kam. Ṣafavī (I) 2000/1200 (S 4250)	Qabād Khān s/o Asad Khān Kābulī(T) 1500/600, (S 4303; S 4343)
22.	1648-49	"	"	"
23.	1649-50	" (A.C.) (S 4610); Ja'afar S/o Ilahvardī Khān(I), 1000/400 (S 4607)	"	"
24.	1650	"	" (A.C.) (S 5284); Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī G/s Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain(I) 2000/500, (S 5285)	"
25.	1650-51	"	"	"
26.	1651-52	"	"	"
27.	1652-53	" 1500/500 (S 5704)	"	"

28.	1653-54	"(now Barq Andāz Khān 1500/600 (S 5971)	"	"
29.	1654-55	-	"	" 2500/1500 (S 6143)
30.	1655-56	-	"	"
31.	1656-57	-	" (A.C.) (S 6638); ʿAbdul Kāfī, Nawāzish Khān(I) 2500/600 (S 6637)	"
32.	1657-58	-	"	" 4000/4000 (S 7382)

(b) AURANGZEB:

We find a continuance of the predominance of the Irānīs in most of the offices under Aurangzeb. This can be seen from the lists of major offices appended to this Chapter where a yearwise break down of the major Central offices, according to the racial group of the incumbents, has been given. Like the reign of Shāhjahān, here too, the lists of certain offices are incomplete. Our information has been derived from the historical works as well as the Akhbārāt. Our lists are more extensive than those of Sir Jadunath Sarkar.[1] The two ecclesiastical offices of Qāẓi-ul-Quẓẓāt (the Chief Justice) and Muḥtasib (the Censor of morals), given by Sarkar, have, however, been excluded from our lists as they appear to have been the exclusive monopoly of the non-Irānian incumbents.

WAZĪR OR DĪWĀN-I-KUL:

The office of the Wazīr or Dīwān-i Kul, throughout Aurangzeb's reign, appears to have been the sole monopoly of the Irānīs. Out of seven persons,[2] known to have held

1. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III (Reprint), Orient Longman Ltd., Bombay, 1972, pp. 40-46.

2. Cf. Sarkar, op.cit., pp. 40-44, where he gives only four persons and does not mention Murshid Qulī Khān and Multafat Khān in 1658 before the coming of Ja'far Khān; and Bahramand Khān who had acted as deputy Wazīr in the absence of Asad Khān from 1691-92 to 1693-94.

this post there were as many as six Irānīs. The only non-Irānī, Rāja Raghūnāth had worked in the office of Wazārat since Shāhjahān's time acting as deputy (nāib) or assistant (peshdast) of the Chief Dīwān. Under Aurangzeb he was first assistant (peshdast-i Dīwān) of Ja'far Khān the wazīr in 1658.[1] When the latter was appointed as ṣūbedār of Malwa[2] he was made deputy wazīr. He was succeeded by Fāẓil Khān Tūnī in 1662-63; but the latter died just after 16 days and finally Ja'far Khān, being recalled from Malwa, was re-appointed Wazīr. Ja'far Khān remained in this office till his death in 1670 and then for the next six years (1670-1676) there was apparently no wazīr Asad Khān being designated deputy dīwān. Asad Khān, however, resigned in 1673 and was reappointed as the wazīr in 1676. During this period two more Irānīs — Amānat Khān (Mīrak Mo'īn-ud Dīn), the Dīwān-i Khāliṣa and Ja'far Beg, Kifāyat Khān the dīwān-i tan jointly made deputy dīwāns.[3] Asad Khān is found to have held the office of Wazīr for the largest period of about 30 years from 1676 till 1707 except for a short interval in 1692 to 1693 when during his absence on the Jinji campaign Bahramand Khān (his son-in-law) acted as his deputy dīwān.

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1. Sarkar, Op.cit., p. 41.
2. Kāẓim, Op.cit., pp. 125-26.
3. M.A., pp. 125-26.

It is significant that, except for a few years when Rāja Raghūnāth, and ʿAlāul Mulk Fāẓil Khān held the office, or there was no wazīr at all, Wazīrship remained for the maximum period of Aurangzeb's reign in the hands of the single family of Ṣādiq Khān[1] - the Mīr Bakhshī or more precisely in the house of I'timād-ud Daula.

MĪR BAKHSHĪ:

There were three Bakhshīs under Aurangzeb with a fourth for the Aḥdīs (mīr bakhshī of aḥdīs). The first or chief bakhshī was known as Bakhshī-i Awwal or Mīr Bakhshī while the other two were designated as the second (bakhshī-i duwum) and the third (bakhshī-i siwum) bakhshīs.[2] Curiously enough the term bakhshī-ul Mulk, as occurs frequently in the contemporary documents, appears to have been used indiscriminately for the first, second and third bakhshīs. In such cases the specific offices of the incumbents have been ascertained from their distinct respective designations found elsewhere.

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1. Ṣādiq Khān was a nephew and the son-in-law of I'timād-ud Daula.

2. It may be pointed out that there was no 3rd bakhshī under Shāhjahān as suggested by Ibn Hasan, Op.cit., p. 230; and no. 4th bakhshī under Aurangzeb as given by Jagdish Narain Sarkar (Mughal Polity, Delhi, 1984, p. 114).

As many as eleven mīr bakhshīs are known to have been appointed during Aurangzeb's reign. Of these eight were Irānīs, and two Tūrānī while one remains unidentified. It may be pointed out that the total tenure of all the three non-Irānian mīr bakhshīs was about five years while for the remainder of the period the post remained in the hands of Irānīs. Our tables show that Bahramand Khān held the office of mīr bakhshī for a period of over ten years (July 1692 to November 1702). Muḥammad Amīn Khān, son of Mīr Jumla, had the next longest tenure after Bahramand Khān, of about eight years (from January 1659 to December 1667). Among the others, Asad Khān (from Feb. 1671 to Oct. 1676), Ashraf Khān (from January 1681 to September 1686), Rūḥullah Khān (from September 1686 to July 1692) and Zūlfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang (from Nov. 1702 to 1707) each continued as mīr bakhshī for more than five years. The ranks of those who held the office ranged from 3000 to 6000 zāt.

As regards the second and third bakhshīs, our lists are incomplete especially that of the third bakhshī. It appears that out of the nine second bakhshīs as many as seven were Irānīs and the remaining two-Himmat Khān Mīr 'Īsá and Sarbuland Khān - were Tūrānīs whose total tenure amounted to four years. Thus the post of the second bakhshī also was most of the time held by Irānīs. Moreover, most

of these incumbents belonged to I'timād-ud-Daula's family or to families which were related to it through marriages. Such were Asad Khān, Rūḥullah Khān I and his son Rūḥullah Khān II (Khānazād Khān) and Bahramand Khān. Of these Asad Khān, a grand son of Ṣādiq Khān (from mother's side) and Bahramand Khān another grandson of Ṣādiq Khān (from father's side) successively held the post of second bakhshī for a period of as many as seventeen years, of which Asad Khān's single tenure was of twelve years. The second longest tenure was of Rūḥullah Khān's family whose two members held this post for over two years. Mukhliṣ Khān, son of Ṣaf Shikan Khān, had the next longest period after Asad Khān (over eight years).

The list of third bakhshīs is very in-complete and only five persons are listed. Among them only one- Himmat Khān Mīr 'Īsá was a Tūrānī and the rest were Irānīs. Thus, Irānīs seem to dominate in this office too. It appears that, both the 2nd and 3rd bakhshīs held equal ranks ranging between 2000 to 4000 zāt.

MĪR ĀTISH OR DĀROGHA-I TOP KHĀNA

Unlike the preceding reign, under Aurangzeb the offices of Mīr Ātish and Dārogha-i top.khāna appears to be identical, occuring as inter-changeable terms.[1] In all there were fourteen mīr ātish or dāroghas of the top khāna; of these thirteen were Irānīs. The fourteenth, Saiyid Ghairat ('Izzat) Khān, remains unidentified; but he held the office for a very short period in 1687.[2] The office of mīr ātish thus appears to have been the monopoly of the Irānīs throughout Aurangzeb's reign. The period for which the office was held was normally 3 to 5 years. A'ẓam Khān Koka, Fedāi Khān held it for six years (1661-1667); and Shujā'at Khān Ra'adandāz Beg for seven years (1667-74); Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān for five years (1690-1695); but his cousin Tarbiyat Khān Muḥammad Khalīl, son of Dārāb Khān, held for the longest period of eleven years (1697-1707). Dārāb Khān's own tenure was three years (1676 to 1679). The office of mīr ātish thus remained in the family of Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī for the maximum period of ninteen years during Aurangzeb's reign. Officers appointed mīr ātish of Aurangzeb generally held manṣabs from 2000 to 4000 zāt.

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1. Cf. T.U.(Eng. trans) Op.cit., passim, invariably gives dārogha-i topkhāna whereas other authorities mention both mīr ātish and dārogha-i topkhāna.

2. M.A., p. 291.

MĪR SĀMĀN OR KHĀN-I SĀMĀN

There were nine Khān Sāmān under Aurangzeb and all of them were Irānīs. They were generally medium rank manṣabdārs holding between 2000 and 3000 ẕāt. Mullā ʿAlāul Mulk Tūnī Fāẓil Khān, however, reached the rank of 5000 ẕāt in this office. Interestingly enough Fāẓil Khān had continued in this office since Shāhjahān's reign and served under Aurangzeb for about six years till his death in 1663. His nephew Fāẓil Khān I'timād Khān served as Mīr Sāmān for the longest period of nine years, from 1688 to 1697. Thus the family of Fāẓil Khān Tūnī retained the post of Mīr Sāmān for a maximum period of fifteen years. The tenures of Rūḥullah Khān I (two years - 1676 to 1678) and his son Khānazād Khān Rūḥullah Khān II (seven years - 1697 to 1704) spanned nine years. Another Mīr Sāmān whose tenure also extended for about nine years (1678-87) was Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān the son of Ḥakīm Dāud Taqarrub Khān. Both Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān (from June 1663 to March 1670) and Ashraf Khān. Mīr Muḥammad Ashraf (from March 1670 to November 1676) also served for a period of about seven years each.

MĪR TUZUK:

The list of Aurangzeb's Mīr Tuzuks is very incomplete; some appointments are probably not mentioned at all; and there is possibility of confusion between the Mīr Tuzuk and officers known as the first Mīr Tuzuk and second Mīr Tuzuk.

As many as 32 Mīr Tuzuks are known to us from the sources of Aurangzeb's time. Of these 18 were Irānīs and 7 Tūrānīs; of the remaining seven, the racial antecedants are not known. It may be inferred from the available data that Irānīs furnished most of the Mīr Tuzuks throughout Aurangzeb's reign. Generally they held ranks of 1500 to 2000 ẕāt.

ṢADR-US ṢUDŪR:

Like Mūsavī Khān, the chief Ṣadr under Shāhjahān, Mīrak Shaikh of Herāt was the only Irānian who was appointed to this high religious office by Aurangzeb, and his tenure was rather short being less than two years (from March 1660 to November 1661). The office of Ṣadr under Aurangzeb appears to have been mostly held by the Tūrānīs and the Indian Muslims, as out of the remaining seven chief Ṣadrs four were Tūrānīs and the rest Indian Muslims. It will be seen from our tables that for the period of about nine years (1689-97) no Ṣadr was appointed as no record is traced from the chronicles. The Ṣadrs under Aurangzeb were medium rank manṣabdārs as they are found holding ranks from 2000 ẕāt to 4000 ẕāt.

BAKHSHĪ OF AHDĪS:

As many as 17 bakhshīs of ahdīs have been recorded in our lists; still there are gaps of years for which appointments are not known. Out of the 17 bakhshīs, as many as eleven were Irānīs. Sometimes the post of bakhshī of ahdīs was assigned together with other offices. For instance, in 1661 Mīr Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Multafat Khān was made bakhshī of ahdīs in addition to Mīr Tuzuk;[1] and in 1699 Khudā Banda Khān, in addition to his post of bakhshī of ahdīs, was made dīwān-i buyūtāt.[2] The bakhshīs of ahdīs were generally low-medium manṣabdārs holding generally ranks of below 2000 ẕāt.

DĪWĀN-I BUYŪTĀT:

The office of dīwān-i buyūtāt seems to have been equal in status to that of bakhshī of ahdīs as its holders too are found to be holding ranks below 2000 ẕāt. In all fourteen dīwān-i buyūtāt have been listed by us. Of these, Irānīs are again found in majority, contributing as many as

1. Kāẓim, p. 593.

2. Akhbārāt, 43rd R.Y., 3 May, 19 October and 16 November, 1699; M.A., pp. 382, 386.

ten. The Irānīs seem to have generally held the office for three years or more, with only a few exceptions. Ḥakīm Ẓiāuddīn Raḥmat Khān (1661-1665), Ḥakīm Muḥsin Khān son of Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī (1684-1688), and Mīr Ḥusain Amānat Khān Khawāfī (1692-1696) held this office for about five years each; while Mīr ʿImād-ud Dīn Raḥmat Khān, a son-in-law of Khalīfa Sulṭān, held the office of dīwān-i buyūtāt for the longest period (about twelve years, from 1666 to 1678).

ĀKHTABEGĪ (MASTER OF THE HORSE):

Inspite of as many as sixteen persons holding this office have been listed here, a number of gaps exist in our list of appointments, since we have no information for some years. Rūḥullah Khān was appointed thrice, and each of Mughal Khān and ʿAbdur Raḥīm Khān twice. Out of the sixteen ākhtabegīs, ten were Irānīs, three Tūrānīs and one Indian Muslim; the remaining two are unidentified. Though the post was reputed to involve work of a confidential nature the incumbents appear to have been transferred rather rapidly from the posts, generally within two or three years after appointment. But some of the Irānīs did retain the office of ākhtabegī for longer periods. Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān and his brother Multafat Khān successively served as ākhtabegīs for about eight years. Their cousin

Rūhullah Khān's total tenure was about seven years. Dārab Khān,[1] son of Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī, and his nephew Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān might have held the office for longer periods. On the other hand, no non-Irānian ākhtabegī is found to have been retained for more than three years. It was, therefore, Irānis who enjoyed Aurangzeb's confidence in this office. They generally held ranks below 3000 zāt. It may also be pointed out that the office of ākhtabegī remained for the longest period in the family of Khalīlullah Khān Yazdī, perhaps the most trusted amongst the Khānazāds.

QARĀWAL BEGĪ (CHIEF HUNTSMAN):

This list of Aurangzeb's Qarāwalbegīs is very short and only four holders of the office are known from his reign. All the four persons are Irānis and two of them belong to one family (that of Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī) -- namely Dārāb Khān and Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān. Both of them held this office for about five years each. Faizullah Khān,[2] the first Qarāwalbegī of Aurangzeb, held it for the longest period of about nine years. Muftakhar Khān, son of Fākhir Khān Najmṣānī,

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1. M.A., 108, Irādat Khān in the text is apparently a misreading for Dārāb Khān as no Irādat Khān is found to have been appointed ākhtabegī under Aurangzeb; M.U.,II, 39-40 gives Dārāb Khān.

2. Kāẓim, p. 207 gives him in succession to Khwāja ʿUbaidullah; cf. M.U.,III, pp. 28-30 gives his appointment vice Nawāzish Khān which is wrong. Faizullah Khān was appointed Qūrbegī in succession to Nawāzish Khān (Kāẓim, p. 129).

is found to have succeeded Qamaruddīn Khān in 1683. But how long he served in this office is not known. The Tazkirat-ul Umarā', however mentions that he served upto 34th R.Y. (probably as Qarāwalbegī).[1] The Qarāwalbegis were medium rank manṣabdārs, holding from as low as 1000 zāt to a maximum of 4000 zāt.

QŪRBEGĪ (KEEPER OF ARSENAL):

Out of thirteen listed Qūrbegis nine were Irānis, three Tūrānis and one unidentified. It may be pointed out that out of 34 years, for which the appointments of Qūrbegis are known, Irānis had held the office for about 18 years only. The total tenure of the three Tūrānis was 14 years. Ṣaf Shikan Khān (antecedants unidentified) had for two years. Thus the average tenure of a Tūrānī was longer than that of an Irānī. Rūḥullah Khānazād Khān was the only Irānī who retained the office of Qūrbegī for the longest period (over eight years from 1692 to 1700). The manṣabs of these officers ranged from 1500 to 3500 zāt.

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1. T.U., p. 171.

QAUSHBEGĪ (CHIEF FALCONER):

During the first thirty years of Aurangzeb's reign, in which the appointments of Qaushbegīs are known, only five persons (3 Irānīs and 2 Tūrānīs) are known to have been appointed to this office. Curiously, the total tenure of both Irānīs and Tūrānīs in this office is almost equal. They are medium rank officers holding the manṣab from 2000 to 4000 ẕāt. The average tenure of a Tūrānī incumbent was much longer than that of an Irānian. Mughal Khān (ʿArab Shaikh), son of Ṭāhir Shaikh of Balkh, a Tūrānī, held the office of Qaushbegī for the longest period, viz. thirteen years (1672-1685). Amongst the Irānīs Ḥasan ʿAlī Khān Bahādur's second longest tenure was about nine years (1658-1666).

'ARẒ-I MUKARRAR (REVISOR OF PETITIONS):

The office of 'arẓimukarrar, also known as Dārogha-i ʿarẓ-i mukarrar (Superintendent of revision department) under Aurangzeb, seems to have been monopolized by Luṭfullah Khān the son of Sa'adullah Khān and Shaikh ʿAbdul ʿAzīz Akbarābādī (both of them Indian Muslims). Luṭfullah Khān appears to have been appointed four times; and Shaikh ʿAbdul ʿAzīz at least twice. Thus out of 32 years of Aurangzeb's reign in which appointments of 'arẓ-i mukarrar are known, Luṭfullah Khān and Shaikh ʿAbdul ʿAzīz consistently occupied,

one after the other, the office for about sixteen years, with a short interruption when Abū Naṣr Shāista Khān and Shahābuddīn Khān held the appointments for about a year.[1]

After these Indian Muslims the next longest holders of this office were Tūrānīs - namely Siyādat Khān Saiyid Ughlān and his son Siyādat Khān Shāh Mīr, whose combined tenure extended for over twelve years. Thus the office of the Dārogha of ʿArẓ-i Mukarrar was most of the time in the hands of non-Irānīs. While Irānīs held it only for about six years.

DĀROGHA-I GHUSAL KHĀNA:

The Dārogha of Ghusal Khāna was an important and confidential assignment where only trusted servants were appointed.[2] Here too, we see that it was Irānīs who mostly held this office. Out of fifteen Dāroghas nine were Irānīs and these held the office for a period of about 28 years out of 34 years of Aurangzeb's reign for which appointments are known to us.

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1. In the 13th R.Y. he first appears to have been succeeded by Shaikh ʿAbdul ʿAzīz which suggests that he might have been appointed earlier. Thus his tenure was probably longer than eleven years.

2. Ibn Hasan, Op.cit., pp. 194n, 278, 292, 293.

It is significant that no non-Irānian in this office is found to have held office for more than two years, with the exception of the last Dārogha - Ḥamīduddīn Khān Bahādur (Tūrānī) whose total tenure is not known. Among the Irānīs each one of Hoshdār Khān and ʿAbdur Raḥīm Khān held it for five years; ʿAqil Khān and Bahramand Khān each for over six years; and I'tiqād Khān, Ẓūlfiqār Khān for over three years. The manṣabs of the Dāroghas of the Ghusal Khāna generally ranged from 1500 to 2500 ẓāt. The only exception was Hoshdār Khān who, being successively promoted, reached the rank of 4000 ẓāt within a short span of four years.

We have in our survey excluded the ṣūbedārs of various provinces under Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb because they have been tabulated and their evidence analysed by M. Athar Ali.[1] According to his findings Irānīs predominantly held the governorships during the period under review. He argues that out of 466 years in which appointments are known during Shāhjahān's reign, Irānīs held appointments for 210 years i.e. 45%; and out of 81 persons serving as governors Irānīs

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1. "Provincial Governors under Shahjahan - An Analysis." Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. 3, Bombay, 1975, pp. 80-112; and "Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb: An Analysis", Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. I, Bombay, 1969, pp. 96-133.

comprised 33 or 40.7%. Under Aurangzeb out of 833 total years during which 130 persons are known to have been appointed as provincial governors, as many as 63 or 46.3% were Irānīs who held the appointments for 536 years, i.e. 64% of the total duration. He concludes that the Irānīs during the reign of Aurangzeb were far more numerous among governors than they were under Shāhjahān.[1]

Besides the above surveyed offices a number of others such as those of Mīr Bahr, Qila'dār, Dāroghas of different establishments, Amīns and Mushrifs of various departments need to be covered. But the above survey should be regarded as a fair enough sample.

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1. See Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. 3, p.83

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APPENDIX

LIST OF NOBLES HOLDING MAJOR OFFICES UNDER AURANGZEB

R.Y.	Date	Wazīr/ Dīvān-i Kul	Mīr Bakhshī	Mīr Ātish/ Dārogha-i Top Khāna	Mīr Sāmān/ Khān-i Sāmān
1	1658	Murshid Qulī Khān(I) 3000/1500, Kāẓim, 44,54, SDA, 3.	Mīr Khalīl Khān Zamān s/o A'ẓam Khān(I)3000/2000 Kāẓim,47,51,75.	Muhammad Ṭāhir Ṣaf Shikan Khān(I) 2000/1000,Kāẓim, 53,68; Dastūr,f.179b; T.U., 108;3000/1500, Kāẓim,196,197.	Mullā 'Alāul Mulk Tūnī, Fāẓil Khān(I),Kāẓim, 112,123,339; T.U.,128.
		Rāja Raghūnāth, Rāi Rāyān(H) 3000/900,Dastūr, f.170b,Cf.TU,262.			
		Ja'afar Khān(I) 6000/5000,Kāẓim, 116; K.K.,II,41.			
2	1659-60	-	Muhammad Amīn Khān(I)5000/4000, Kāẓim, 395,400, 426,474;M.A.,17; Dastūr,f. 177b; K.K.,II, 33.	"	" 4000/2000 Kāẓim,395; K.K.,II,78.
3	1660-61	-	"	"	"

4	1661-62	-	"	Muẓaffar Ḥusain Fedāi Khān, A'ẓam Khān Koka(I) Vice Ṣaf Shikan Khān Kāẓim, 634; Dastūr, f. 179b; T.U, 7.	" Kāẓim, 660-61, 662.
5	1662-63	-	" 5000/5000, Kāẓim, 749, 762	"	" 5000/2000; Kāẓim, 749, 762.
6	1663-64	Fāẓil Khān(I) 5000/2500 vice Rāja Raghūnāth (died), Kāẓim, 829-30, 831; Dastūr, f. 170b; M.A., 46; K.K. II, 175-76. Ja'afar Khān(I) 5000/5000 vice Fāẓil Khān (died), Kāẓim, 832-33, 837, 849-50; M.A., 46; K.K., II, 176, 177.	"	" Kazim, 828	Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān(I) 2500/1200 vice Fāẓil Khān, Kāẓim, 830, 832; M.A., 46; K.K. II, 175-76.
7	1664-65	" 7000/7000 (4000x2-3h), Kāẓim, 869; cf. Dastūr, f. 170b 7000/7000(5000x2-3h).	"	" 4000/2500	"

8. 1665-66	"	"	"	3000/1200;Kāẓim,880
9. 1666-67	"	"	"	"
10. 1667-68	"	Dānishmand Khān(I) vice Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Kāẓim,1067; M.A.,64; Dastūr,f. 177b.	Shujā'at Khān,Ra'ad -Andāz Beg(I)2000/ 1500 vice Fedāi Khān, Kāẓim,1061;Dastūr, f.179b; T.U.,94.	. "
11. 1668-69	"	"	"	"
12. 1669-70	"	" 5000/2000 M.A., 70.	"	" M.A.,38.
13. 1670-71	Asad Khān(I)Dy.Dīwān vice Ja'afar Khān (died),M.A.,103; h.l.II,234,235; T.U., 196.	Yādgār Beg Lashkar Khān(x)vice Dānishmand Khān(died) 5000/5000,M.A.,105; Dastūr,f.177b; cf. Ma'mūri,ff.144a-b; T.U.,69.	"	Ashraf Khān(I) 3000/500 vice Iftikhār Khān; M.A.,102;Dastūr, f.178b.
14. 1671	"	Asad Khān(I) vice Yādgār Beg Lashkar Khān, Jān Niṣār Khān(died),M.A.108; Dastūr,f.177b; T.U.,196.	"	"

15.	1671-72	"	" M.A.,119	" 3500/2000,M.A.,116.	"
16.	1672-73	Asad Khān(Resigned) Amānat Khān (I) Dīwān-i khāliṣa)and Ja'afar Beg Kifāyat Khān(I)(Dīwān-i tan) jointly acted as Dy.Dīwān,M.A.125-26; T.U.,18,143.	"	" 4000/2500,M.A,129	"
17.	1673-74	-	"	Muhammad Ṭāhir Ṣaf Shikan Khān(I)3000/1500 vice Shujā'at Khān,Ra'ad Andāz Khān (died), M.A.,132; Dastūr,f.179b; T.U.,108.	"
18.	1674-75	-	"	Multafat Khān(I) 2000/1000,vice Ṣaf Shikan Khān(died), M.A.,142; Dastūr, f.179b; T.U.,170; Cf. Akhbārāt,25th Rabi' II,19th R.Y.	" M.A.,139,142

19.	1675-76	Asad Khān, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm(I); M.A.152; T.U.,196; M.U.,I(a), 311.	Sarbuland Khān(T) vice Asad Khān, Dastūr, f.177b; T.U.,87.	Dārāb Khān Sabzwārī (I) vice Multafat Khān, Dastūr, f.179b, M.A.,150.	"
20.	1676-77	"	" 4000/2500	" 3000 zāt T.U.,68.	Rūḥullah Khān I (I) 2500/700 vice Ashraf Khān, M.A., 156,160.
21.	1677-78	"	"	"	"
22.	1678-79	"	"	Rūḥullah Khān(I) 2000/600 vice Dārāb Khān(died), M.A.,176; T.U.,77.	Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān S/o Taqarrub Khān (I)2000/500 vice Rūḥullah Khān Dastūr, f.179(a); M.U.,III, 626.
23.	1679-80	"	" 5000/4000(died), M.A.,187; S.D.A., 125; T.U.,87. Himmat Khān Mīr ʿĪsá(T)3000/1000 (500x2-3h)vice Sarbuland Khān (deceased), M.A., 195.	Khwāja Mīr Khawāfī Ṣalābat Khān(I) 2500/1200, vice Rūḥullah Khān, MA, 188. Bahramand Khān(I) vice Ṣalābat Khān, M.A.,192,193; TU,35.	"

24.	1680-81	"	Ashraf Khān Mīr Muḥammad Ashraf(I) 3000/500 vice Himmat Khān(died) Akhbārāt,24th R.Y., 16 August,1681; M.A.,201-202;206; T.U.,187.	"	" 2500/1000 M.A.,202.
25.	1681-82	"	" Akhbārāt,25th R.Y. 13-14 December, 1681.	Ṣalābat Khān(I)2500/1200 vice Bahramand Khān. Akhbārāt,25th R.Y.,24 Sept. & 26 Dec.1681; M.A.,216; T.U.,107.	" Akhbārāt,25th R.Y. (Ramẓān) 6 Sept. & 9 Oct. 1681.
26.	1682-83	"	" M.A.,223	-	" M.A.,223.
27.	1683-84	"	" M.A.,242	Mīr Ṣadruddīn, Shujā'at Khān Ṣaf Shikan Khān (I) 4000/3000 M.A.240; T.U.,108.	"
28.	1684-85	"	"	"	"
29.	1685-86	"	",S.D.A.,162.	"	"

30.	1686-87	"	Rūhullah Khān (I) 5000/4000 vice Ashraf Khān (died), M.A.,281; T.U.,77.	Salābat Khān (I) 2500/1200 vice Saf Shikan Khān, M.A.,290; K.K.,II, 359 Saiyid Ghairat(or 'Arab or 'Izzat) Khan(x) vice Salābat Khān,M.A., 291; T.U.,116.	Kāmgār Khān s/o Ja'afar Khān(I) 2500/1000 vice Muhammad Ali Khān (died)M.A.,297.
31.	1687-88	"	" M.A.,299,S.D.A., 169.	Mukhlis Khān (I) 1000/300, S/o Sadruddīn Saf Shikan Khān,M.A., 303.	"
32.	1688-89	"	" M.A.327; S.D.A.,183.	" M.A.,313	Fāzil Khān,I'timād Khān N/o 'Alāul Mulk Tūnī(I)2000/ 400 vice Kāmgār Khān, M.A.,312,317; Akhbārāt,32 R.Y. 7 Aug. 1688.
33.	1689-90	"	" M.A.,332; S.D.A., 216	Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān(I) 3000 zāt vice Mukhlis Khān M.A.,330; T.U.,166.	" Akhbārāt,33 R.Y. (Sha'bān) 5 May,1690.
34.	1690-91	"	"	"	"

35.	1691-92	Bahramand Khān (I) 4000/2000 Dy.Wazīr in the absence of Asad Khān, K.K.II, 407; M.U.,I,455.	" M.A., 344.	" M.A., 340	"
36.	1692-93	" Ma'amūrī,f. 185(a)	Bahramand Khān(I) 4000/2000 vice Rūḥullah Khān(died) M.A.,348,349; Ma'amūrī,f.185(a); K.K.,II,407; T.U., 35.	"	"
37.	1693-94	" M.A., 364.	" M.A., 355	"	"
38.	1694-95	"	" 5000/2500 M.A.,369	Khānazād Khān, Rūḥullah Khān II (I) 3000/1000 vice Qamaruddin Mukhtār Khān. M.A.,370; Cf.M.U, II, 316.	" 2500/500 M.A.,369.
39.	1695-96	"	" 5000/3000 M.A.,374	-	"

40.	1696-97	"	"	Tarbiyat Khān, Mīr Muḥammad Khalil S/o Dārāb Khān(I)2000/1200 Akhbārāt,40th R.Y.(22 Ramẓān)15 April; (8 Shawwāl)1May,1696.	"
41.	1697-98	" 7000/7000 M.A.392	"	"	Khānazād Khān, Rūḥullah Khān II(I) vice Fāzil Khān, M.A.,386,392; T.U, 77.
42.	1698-99	"	" M.A.,393	" 2500/1200 M.A.,395-96	" 2500/1200 M.A.,396
43.	1699-1700	"	" Akhbārāt,43rd R.Y.,11 Sept. & 16 Nov., 1699.	" 2500/1600, M.A.,406; Akhbārāt, 43rd R.Y. (26 Muḥarram), 14 July, 1699; K.K.,II, 462.	"
44.	1700-1701	"	" Akhbārāt,44 R.Y., 28 July, 1700	"	"

45.	1701-1702	"	" M.A.,443.	" M.A.,441	"
46.	1702-1703	"	Zūlfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang (I) 6000/6000 vice Bahramand Khān(died) M.A., 461; T.U.,72.	" 3500/500 M.A.460	"
47.	1703	"	"	"	"
48.	1703-1704	"	"	" 3500/1800 M.A.485.	Khudā Bandah Khān (I) vice Rūḥullah Khān II, M.A. 489; T.U.,64.
49.	1704-1705	"	" M.A.496,502	" 3500/2000(also Mir Ātish of the Deccan),M.A.,497 M.U.,I,502.	" Akhbārāt, 49th RY(11 Ramẓān) 2 Dec. 1704.
50.	1705-06	"	"	" 4000/2000, M.A.,505.	" 3000/1200 M.A.,514.
51.	1706-07	"	"	"	"

R.Y.	Date	Mīr Tuzuk	Ṣadr-us Ṣudūr	Second B[illegible]	Third B[illegible]
1.	1658	1. Alanyār Beg Alahyār Khān (T) 1500/300, Kāẓim,63,93-94,141, 196,342-43. 2. Mīr Ibrāhīm s/o Mīr Naʿuman(T),1000/400 Kāẓim, 163,627.	Saiyid Hidāyatullah Qādrī (Ind M.)	Asad Khān, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (I) Dastūr, f. 177b.	Mukhliṣ Khān(I) Dastūr,f.177b.
2.	1659-60	Mīr Ibrāhīm(T)1500/500 Kāẓim, 448, T.U. 210.	"	" 3500/2500 Kāẓim, 341,395-96.	-
3.	1660-61	1. Mīr Ibrāhīm Husain, Multafat Khān (I) Kāẓim, 593 2. Mīr Ghazanfar(T) Kāẓim, 594.	Mīrak Shaikh of Herāt (I)3000/200, Kāẓim, 473; T.U., 237; M.U.,III,519.	"	-
4.	1661-62	Multafat Khān(I) Kāẓim, 642.	ʿĀbid Khān(T)4000/700; Kāẓim,76,634.	" Kāẓim, 642	-

5.	1662-63	Multafat Khān(I) Kāẓim, 642	ʿĀbid Khān (T) 4000/700 Kāẓim,76, 634.	" 4000/2500 Kāẓim, 762	-
6.	1663-64	" Kāẓim, 851	"	" 4000/3800 Kāẓim, 843	-
7.	1664-65	Mīr Ghaẓanfar Yakatāz Khān (T) Kāẓim, 856.	" 4000/1500 Kāẓim, 855	"	-
8.	1665-66	"	"	"	-
9.	1666-67	Ra'ad Andāz Khān(I) 2000/ẕāt vice Multafat Khān,Kāẓim, 978; T.U.,94.	"	"	-
10.	1667-68	"	Riẓvī Khān, Saiyid ʿAli s/o Saiyid Jalāl Bukhārī(Ind.M.), 3000/500 vice ʿĀbid Khān, Kāẓim,1049; M.A., 62.	"	-

11.	1668-69	"	"	"	-
12.	1669-70	1. Yakatāz Khān(T) M.A. 86 2. Fazlullah Khān s/o Mīr Zahīruddīn ʿAlī Siyādat Khān(I), 1500/300, M.A., 88.	"	"	Himmat Khān, Mīr ʿĪsá(T) 3000 zāt, M.U., III, 946-7.
13.	1670-71	Mughal Khān s/o Tāhir Shaikh of Balkh (T) 1500 zāt vice Yakatāz Khān, M.A., 104; T.U., 168-69.	"	Himmat Khān Mīr ʿĪsá(T) vice Asad Khān, M.A. 105.	Rūhullah Khān(I) Dastūr, f. 177b.
14.	1671	-	"	"	-
15.	1671-72	-	"	Sarbuland Khān(T) vice Himmat Khān, M.A., 120.	-
16.	1672-73	-	"	"	-

17.	1673-74	-	"	" M.A.,133	-
18.	1674-75	-	" M.A.,139	" 4000/2500; M.A.,139 'Aqil Khān(I) Dastūr, f. 177b.	-
19.	1675-76	-	"	"	-
20.	1676-77	Dārāb Khān(I) vice Rūḥullah Khān I M.A., 157.	"	"	-
21.	1677-78	" Ist Mīr Tuzuk, M.A., 157-58; M.U., II, 39-40.	"	"	-
22.	1678-79	-	"	"	-

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23.	1679-80	Mughal Khān s/o Ṭāhir Khān ʿArab Shaikh(T) Ist Mīr Tuzuk, M.A., 192.	"	"	-
24.	1680-81	Bahramand Khān (I) Vice Mughal Khān M.A., 205	ʿĀbid Khān, Qulīj Khān(T)(second time) vice Rizvī Khān(died), M.A., 207; T.U., 138.	Rūhullah Khān(I) vice ʿĀqil Khān, M.A., 195.	ʿAbdur Rahīm Khān(I) M.A., 196.
25.	1681-82	1. Muhammad Yār(I) Mīr Tuzuk 1000/300, Akhbārāt, 25th R.Y. 15 Oct. 1681; T.U. 176. 2. Hayāt Khān(x) Mīr Tuzuk vice Qāsim Khān, Akhbārāt, 25th R.Y. 18 Oct. 1681. 3. Ātish Khān Jān Beg (T) Mīr Tuzuk, vice Silāh Khān, M.A., 220; M.U. I, 225 (Ind. M.)	Sharīf Khān Khwāja Shāh Niʿamatullah (T) vice Qulīj Khān M.A., 219, T.U., 95.	" Akhbārāt, 25th R.Y. 13-14 December, 1681	" Akhbārāt, 25 RY 24 Sept., 9 Oct., 13 Dec, 1681. Kāmgār Khān(I) 2500/1000 vice ʿAbdur Rahīm Khān (died) M.A., 216; T.U., 145.

26.	1682-83	1. ʿAzīzullah Khān B/o Rūḥullah Khān(I), Mīr Tuzuk vice Muḥammad Yār Khān, M.A.,222; T.U.,119. 2. Muḥammad Masīḥ Murīd Khān s/o Himmat Khān (T) vice Silāh Khān (Ind.M.), M.A.,223.	Shaikh Makhdūm Fāẓil Khān II(Ind.M.)vice Sharīf Khān(died), M.A., 222; T.U.,95.	"	" Dastūr,f.177b
27.	1683-84	-	"	"	-
28.	1684-85	1.Shafqatullah Sazāwār Khān(I)2nd Mīr Tuzuk, M.A.255; T.U.,89. 2.Saifullah Khān Aḥmad Beg Iṣfahānī (I), T.U., 92.	"	"	-
29.	1685-86	1.Suhrāb Khān s/o Ra'ad Andāz Khān(I) vice Silāh Khān, M.A.,271; T.U.,87. 2.Muḥammad Muttalib(I) vice Saifullah Khān (died), M.A.,275.	" M.A., 270,274.	"	-

30.	1686-87	Qāsim Khān Kirmānī(I) 1st Mīr Tuzuk 2500 zāt, vice Kāmgār Khān (I), M.A.,281; T.U.,136; M.U.,III,123-26.	"	Bahramand Khān(I) vice Rūhullah Khān M.A., 281.	-
31.	1687-88	-	"	"	-
32.	1688-89	-	Shaikh Mukhdūm, Fāẓil Khān II, (died) (A.C.) M.U.,III, 33.	"	-
33.	1689-90	-	-	"	-
34.	1690-91	-	-	"	-
35.	1691-92	-	-	"	-
36.	1692-93	-	-	Mukhliṣ Khān (I) 2500/700 vice Bahramand Khān M.A.,349.	-

37.	1693-94	-	-	"	-
38.	1694-95	-	-	" 3000/700, M.A. 369.	-
39.	1695-96	1. Saf Shikan Khān(x) (perhaps Amānullah, Multafat Khān) Ist Mīr Tuzuk and Akhtabegī, Akhbārāt, 39th R.Y. (Rabi' II) 7 Nov. 1695. 2. Saiyid Muhammad Husain s/o Himmat Khān(I) vice Muhammad Murād Khān(x) Akhbārāt, 39th R.Y., 3 Feb. 1696. 3. Muttalib Khān, Mīr Tuzuk, Akhbārāt, 39 R.Y. 5 Feb. 1696.	-	" 3000/1000 M.A., 374; K.K., II, 449.	-
40.	1696-97	Tarbiyat Khān (I) Ist Mīr Tuzuk and Dārogha of Top Khāna of the Rikāb, 2000/1200, Akhbārāt, 40th R.Y. Ist May 1696.	-	" Akhbārāt, 40th R.Y. 26 March, 1696.	-

41.	1697-98	-	Qāẓī ʻAbdullah(T) M.A.,392; T.M. 9.	"	-
42.	1698-99	Manṣūr Khān Rozbihānī(T) M.A.,393; T.U.,166; M.U.,I, 255.	Muḥammad Amīn Khān (T) vice Qāẓī ʻAbdullah(died),M.A., 393, 396-97.	" M.A. 395.	-
43.	1699-1700	1. Ṣaf Shikan Khān(x) Ist Mīr Tuzuk, Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y. 27 May & 21 Dec.1699. 2. Muḥammad Nāṣir B/o Saifuddin Khān(x) 500/160 vice Kāmyāb Khān(I), Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y., 13 Zilhaj, 2 June, 1699.	"	" Akhbārāt,43 R.Y. 8 Oct.,& 15 Nov. 1699; K.K.,II, 465.	-
44.	1700-01	-	"	Rūḥullah Khān II (I) vice Mukhliṣ Khān(died) M.A.,434.	Mirzā Ṣadruddīn Muḥammad Khān Ṣafavī(I),M.A., 439;M.U.,III,692.
45.	1701-02	-	"	"	"

46.	1702-03	-	" M.A.,452	2500 zāt, M.A., 457; K.K. II, 502.	"
47.	1703	-	" M.A.,471	" M.A.,472	" 3000/1050 M.A.,472; T.U.,109.
48.	1703-04	-	"3500/1200 M.A., 481.	Mirzā Ṣadruddīn Ṣafavī (I) vice Rūḥullah Khān II (died), M.A.,489.	-
49.	1704-05	1. Mīr Asad Ullah Saifullah Khān s/o Saifullah Khān Mīr Bahr(I), M.A., 505; M.U.,II,487. 2. Muḥammad Jān (x) Akhbārāt, 49 R.Y. 3 Feb. 1705.	"	" 3500/1050. M.A.,503, 505.	Mirzā Ṣafavī Khān ʿAlī Naqī(I) 3000/1000, M.A, 497, K.K.,II,572; T.U.,109; M.U.,III,653-54.
50.	1705-06	-	"	" M.A.,514.	" M.A.,513.
51.	1706-07	-	" 4000/1500(now Chin Bahādur) M.A.,518; M.U.,I, 346-50.	" Akhbārāt, 51 R.Y (23 Shawāl), 17 Jan. 1707.	" Akhbārāt, 51 R.Y. 26 Jan. 1707.

R.Y.	Date	Bakhshi of Ahdis	Diwan-i Buyutat	Akhtabegi	Qarawalbegi
1.	1658	Ra'ad Andāz Khān(I) 1000/400 Kāzim,237.	Muhammad Muqīm, Muqīm Khān (x), Kāzim,301;T.U.,151	Saif Khān,Saifuddin Mahmūd alias Faqīrullah s/o Tarbiyat Khān(I) M.U.,II,479.	Faizullah Khān(I) 3000/2000 vice Khwāja 'Ubaidullah (T): Kāzim, 207; M.U., II, 28-29.
		Sazāwār Khān(I) 1000/350 vice Ra'ad Andāz Khān Kāzim, 237,240.		Sultān Husain Iftikhār Khān(I) 2000/1000 vice Saif Khān Kāzim,289,342; M.U.,I, 252-55.	
		Ra'ad Andāz Khān(I) 1500/600 Kāzim,336, 486.			
2.	1659-60	"	"	"	" Kāzim, 457.
3.	1660-61	Ismaīl Beg Kirmānī(I) 1000/100 vice Ra'ad Andāz Khān,Kāzim,487.	Hakīm Ziāuddīn Rahmat Khān(I) 1500/300 vice Muqīm Khān, Kāzim, 487.	"	"
		Mīr Ibrāhīm Husain Multafat Khān (in addition to Mīr Tuzuk) Kāzim, 593.			

4.	1661-62	"	"	" Kāẓim, 642.	" Kāẓim, 673
5.	1662-63	"	" Kāẓim,765	"	" Kāẓim, 765
6.	1663-64	Rūḥullah Khān (I) vice Multafat Khān, Kāẓim,829; T.U.,77.	"	" 2000/1200 Kāẓim,817 Multafat Khān(I) vice Iftikhār Khān, Kāẓim, 829-30.	"
7.	1664-65	"	"	"	" 4000/2000 Kāẓim,858; M.U.,III, 28-30
8.	1665-66	"	Ḥakīm Jamālāi Kāshī, Diānat Khān(I), 1500/350 vice Raḥmat Khān(died) Kāẓim, 915,917.	"	"

9. 1666-67	"	Mir ʿImāduddīn S/1 Khalifa Sulṭān(I) 1500/250 vice Diānat Khān, Kāẓim, 960-61	Ra'ad Andāz Khān(I) vice Multafat Khān, Kāẓim, 978.	Dārāb Khān(I) 1500/600 vice Faiẓullah Khān Kāẓim, 966.
10. 1667-68	Kāmgār Khān (I) 1500/300 vice Rūhullah Khān Kāẓim, 1061; T.U., 145.	" (now Rahmat Khan) Kāẓim, 1034; M.A.,60; T.U.,74.	Rūhullah Khān(I) 2000/600 vice Ra'ad Andāz Khān, Kāẓim, 1061.	"
11. 1668-69	"	"	"	"
12. 1669-70	"	"	"	"
13. 1670-71	-	"	"	"
14. 1671	-	"	Dārāb Khān(Irādat Khān ?)(I)3000 zāt vice Rūhullah Khān, M.A.,108; T.U.,68; cf. M.U.,II,39-42.	-
15. 1671-72	-	"	-	-

16.	1672-73	-	"	-	-
17.	1673-74	-	" M.A.,132	-	-
18.	1674-75	-	"	-	-
19.	1675-76	-	"	Rūḥullah Khān(I) M.A.,150	-
20.	1676-77	-	"	"	-
21.	1677-78	-	Kāmgār Khān(I) 1500/400 vice Raḥmat Khān, M.A.,166; Dastūr,f.179a; T.U.,145.	Mughal Khān(T)vice Rūḥullah Khān, M.A., 163. 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān(I) vice Mughal Khān, M.A.,165.	Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān(I) M.U.,III,655.

22. 1678-79	Bahramand Khān (I) vice Lutfullah Khān (Ind. M.), M.A., 172; T.U., 35. Muhammad Isma'il I'tiqād Khān s/o Asad Khān (I) vice Bahramand Khān M.A., 176.	"	Rūhullah Khān(I) Vice 'Abdur Rahīm Khān M.A., 172. Bahramand Khān(I) Vice Rūhullah Khān, M.A., 176.	"
23. 1679-80	"	"	'Abdur Rahīm Khān(I) vice Bahramand Khān, M.A., 192.	"
24. 1680-81	"	'Ināyat Khān(I) 1000/700 Vice Kāmgār Khān, Dastūr, f.179a; M.A., 206; T.U., 115; M.U., II, 818.	Sazāwār Khān(I)1000/250 Vice 'Abdur Rahīm Khān, M.A., 196. Mughal Khān(T) Vice Sazāwār Khān, Akhbārāt, 24th R.Y. 31 July, 1681; M.A., 205.	" 1000/500 Akhbārāt, 24 R.Y., 15 Aug. 1681

25.	1681-82	Shahābuddin Khān(x) 1500/500 Vice I'tiqād Khān S/o Asad Khān, Akhbārāt, 25 R.Y., 10 Sept., 23 Sept., 1681; M.A., 216.	Saiyid Sharaf Khān(x) Akhbārāt, 25 R.Y. 6 Sept. 1681; T.U, 103.	"	Muftakhar Khān S/o Fākhir Khān(I) Vice Qamaruddin Mukhtār Khān, M.A., 218, 220; TU, 171.
26.	1682-83	Sālih Khān S/o A'zam Khān(I) vice Shahābuddin Khān(x) M.A., 221; T.U., 109.	" 900/130 Dastūr, f.179 a	"	-
27.	1683-84	Muttalib Khān(I) M.A., 240; T.U., 175.	Muhsin Khān S/o Hakim Sālih Shirāzi (I); T.U., 153; T.M., 76.	Kāmgār Khān (I) 2500/1000 Vice Mughal Khān, M.A., 240; M.U., III, 159.	-
28.	1684-85	"	"	Qamaruddin Mukhtār Khān(I) vice Kāmgār Khān, M.A., 260.	-
29.	1685-86	"	"	-	-

30.	1686-87	-	"	-	-
31.	1687-88	-	"(alias Ḥusām) 1000/100, Dastūr, f. 179a.	-	-
32.	1688-89	-	Khwāja ʿAbdur Raḥīm Khān(T) 1300/200 Vice Muḥsin Khān Akhbārāt, 32 R.Y., 7 Aug. 1688; S.D.A., 194; M.A., 312; M.U., I, 792-93.	-	-
33.	1689-90	-	"	-	-
34.	1690-91	-	"	-	-
35.	1691-92	-	"	-	-
36.	1692-93	-	Mīr Husain Amānat Khān(I) 1500/900 vice Khwāja ʿAbdur Rahīm(died), M.A., 347,349; M.U., I, 287-90.	-	-

37.	1693-94	-	-	-	-
38.	1694-95	-	-	-	-
39.	1695-96	-	-	Luṭfullah Khān (Ind. M.) Vice Saf Shikan Khān(I) (2000/800) Akhbārāt, 39 R.Y. 7 Nov.1695; 31 Jan, 1696; M.A.,380.	-
40.	1696-97	Khudā Banda Khān(I) Vice Murīd Khān(x) M.A.,382; T.U.,64.	-	"	-
41.	1697-98	"	Khudā Banda Khān(I) (in addition to Bakhshī of Ahdīs) M.A.,386; T.U.,64; M.U.,I,814.	Alahyār Ihtimām Khān(x)1500 zāt vice Luṭfullah Khān, M.A.,386; T.M.,12.	-
42.	1698-99	"	"	"	-

43.	1699-1700	" 1500/500 Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y. 3 May; 19 Oct., 16 Nov.,1699.	" Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y., 3 May, 21 Oct.1699.	" (Now Ikhlāṣ Khān) Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y. 4 June, 1699; 7 Jan. 1700; T.M., 12.	-
44.	1700-01	Ṣaf Shikan Khān, Amān Ullah Multafat Khān(x); M.A.,434 T.U.,109.	Fazāil Khān Mīr Hādī S/o Wazīr Khān Mīr Hāji(x) Vice Khudā Bandah Khān, M.A., 432-33; T.U.,133; M.U.,III,38-40 T.M.,15-16.	-	-
45.	1701-02	Ganj Ālī Khān(x) 2500 zāt; T.U., 146.	"	-	-
46.	1702-03	-	" M.A.,457.	-	-
47.	1703	-	Abdur Rahīm S/o Fāẓil Khān Burhān-uddīn (I) vice Fazāil Khān (died) M.A.,471; T.U.,121, 133. Ẓiāuddīn nephew & S/L Fāẓil Khān Burhānuddīn (I) vice Abdur Rahīm (died),M.A.471-2;T.U.,110.	-	-

48. 1703-04	-	"	-	-
49. 1704-05	Neknām Khān s/o Himmat Khān(T) Akhbārāt, 49 R.Y. 2 Jan.,1705; T.U.,183.	"	-	-
50. 1705-06	-	"	-	-
51. 1706-07	-	" T.U.,110	-	-

R.Y.	Date	Qūrbegī	Qaushbegī	ʿArẓ-i Mukarrar	Dārogha of Ghusalkhāna
1.	1658	Mīr Ibrāhīm(I) Kāẓim, 63,94. Faizullah Khān(I) 3500/2000 vice Nawāzish Khān (I) Kāẓim, 129; T.U. 131.	Ḥasan ʿAlī Khān Bahādur (I) 2000/1000 M.U.,I, 593-94	Rizvī Khān Saiyid ʿAlī S/o Saiyid Jalāl Bukhārī(T) T.U.,74. Muhammad Alī K[illegible] S/o Hakim Daud Taqarrub Khan (I) T.U., 171.	Hosndār Khān S/o Aʿẓam Khān (I) 1500/700 vice Khānazād Khān Ḥamīduddīn S/o Mirzā Abū Saʿīd Tehrānī(I),Kāẓim,127; Dastūr, f.179(a); T.U., 62.
2.	1659-60	Nāmdār Khān(I) 3500/1500 vice Faizullah Khān Kāẓim,440;T.U.182	" Kāẓim, 457	-	" 3000/2000 Kāẓim, 267-68.
3.	1660-61	Maʿṣūm Khān S/o Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī(I) 2000 ẕāt, T.U.,157.	"	-	"
4.	1661-62	"	"	-	" 4000/3000 M.U.,III, 943-46.

5.	1662-63	"	" Kāẓim,765	-	Alahyār Khān(T) 1500/1500 vice Hoshdār Khān, Kāẓim,764; M.Ü.,I, 216-17.
6.	1663-64	Himmat Khān Mīr ʿĪsá(T) vice Maʿṣūm Khān Kāẓim, 852-53.	"	-	ʿĀqil Khān Mīr ʿAskarī(I)2000/700 vice Alahyār Khān (died) Dastūr,f. 179(a);M.U.,I,217; II, 821-23.
7.	1664-65	"	"	-	"
8.	1665-66	" 2000/1200 Kāẓim, 880.	"	-	"
9.	1666-67	"	Faiẓullah Khān(I) 4000/2000 M.U.,III, 29.	-	" 2500/700 M.U.,II, 821-23.
10.	1667-68	"	"	-	"
11.	1668-69	"	"	-	"

12.	1669-70	Sarbuland Khān(T) 3000/ zāt vice Himmat Khān, M.A., 84; T.U., 87	"	-	'Abdullah Khān(x) 2000/1000 vice 'Āqil Khān, Dastūr, f. 179(a); M.A.88; M.U.,II ,821-23.
13.	1670-71	"	Sarbuland Khān(T) 3000/ zāt, vice Faizullah Khān, M.A.,106; M.U.,II, 478.	Mullā 'Abdul 'Azīz (Ind. M.) vice Lutfullah Khān (Ind.M.), M.A., 99. Hājī Ahmad Sa'īd Khān(x) vice Mughal Khān (T) M.A.,102. Lutfullah Khān (Ind.M.) vice Hājī Ahmad Sa'īd Khān, M.A.,106.	Darab Khan (I) 3000 zāt, vice 'Abdullah Khān, M.A.,98; T.U.,68.
14.	1671	"	"	"	"
15.	1671-72	"	Mughal Khān(T) 2000 zāt, vice Sarbuland Khān, M.A.,120; M.U., III, 623.	"	Shujā'at Khān alias Abdullah Khān (x) Dastūr, f.179(a).
16.	1672-73	-	"	"	-

17.	1673-74	-	"	Shaikh ʿAbdul ʿAziz (Ind. [illegible])700/00 [illegible], 1[illegible].	Him[illegible] Khān [illegible](I), [illegible], 13[illegible]; [illegible].U., [illegible].
18.	1674-75	-	"	"	"
19.	1675-76	-	"	"	ʿAb[illegible] [illegible] Khān (I) vice [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]A., [illegible].
20.	1676-77	-	"	"	"
21.	1677-78	-	"	Lutfullah Khān (Ind. M.) vice Shaikh ʿAbdul ʿAziz [illegible] [illegible].A., 16[illegible].	"
22.	167[illegible]-79	-	"	"	"
23.	1679-80	-	"	Abū Nasr Shāista Khān(I) vice Lutfullah Khān [illegible].A., 1[illegible]8.	"

24.	1680-81	Abū Nasr Shāista Khān(I), M.U.,I, 292-93.	"	Lutfullah Khān (Ind. M.) vice Shahābuddīn Khān (x), M.A.,210.	Lutfullah Khān (Ind. M.)2000/700 vice Abdur Rahīm Khān, M.A.,196,201. Bahramand Khān (I) 2500 zāt, M.A., 209-10; Dastūr,f. 179(a).
25.	1681-82	Yalingtosh Khān Bahādur (T)2000/700 vice Abū Nasr Khān, M.A.,217; T.U.,192; M.U,III, 972.	"	"	" Akhbārāt, 25 R.Y., 9 Oct. 1681.
26.	1682-83	"	"	"	"
27.	1683-84	"	"	"	"
28.	1684-85	I'tiqād Khān Zūlfiqār Khān s/o Asad Khān(I) 2000/400 vice Yalingtosh Khān M.A.,250-51; T.U., 72.	Siyādat Khān Muazzam Khān s/o Shāhnawāz Khān(I) 1500 zāt, vice Mughal Khān,M.A., 246; T.U.,90, 157-58.	"	"

29.	1685-86	-	"	Siyadat Khan Saiyid Ughlan(T) vice Lutfullah Khān, M.A.,263, 270; T.U.,90.	"
30.	1686-87	-	" 2500 zāt. T.U.,158.	"	Kāmgār Khān(I) 2500 zāt vice Bahramand Khān M.A.,281; Dastur, f.179(a). I'tiqād Khān Zūlfiqār Khān(I) 2000/1000 vice Kāmgār Khān, M.A.,297; Dastur, f.179(a).
31.	1687-88	-	-	"	"
32.	1688-89	-	-	Ṣaf Shikan Khān Muḥammad Shujā'(I) Vice Siyādat Khān M.A.,314; T.U,109.	"
33.	1689-90	Mukhlis Khān s/o Ṣaf Shikan Khān (I)2000/700, M.U.,III, 641.	-	Mukhlis Khān s/o Ṣaf Shikan Khān(I) vice Muḥammad Yār Khān(I), M.A.,330; T.U.,159.	Muḥammad Yār Khān (I) 2500/1500 M.U.,III, 707.

34.	1690-91	"	-	"	"
35.	1691-92	" 2000/700 M.A., 340-41, T.U., 158-9.	-	"	-
36.	1692-93	Khānazād Khān Rūhullah Khān II(I) 2500/1000 vice Mukhlis Khān, M.A., 349; M.U., II., 315-16	-	Sharīf Khān(x) vice Mukhlis Khān, Ma'amūri, f.185(a) K.K., II, 407.	-
37.	1693-94	"	-	-	-
38.	1694-95	"	-	-	-
39.	1695-96	"	-	-	-
40.	1696-97	"	-	-	-
41.	1697-98	"	-	-	-
42.	1698-99	"	-	-	Hamīduddīn Khān Bahādur(T), M.A, 396.

43.	1699-1700	"	-	Siyādat Khān Shāh Mir s/o Saiyid Ughlān(T) vice Abdur Raḥmān s/o Islām Khān Mashhadi(I)1500/200 M.A.,407; T.U.,90-91, 121; M.U.,I, 167.	-
44.	1700-1701	Ṣaf Shikan Khan Āmān Ullah(x) vice Rūḥullah Khan II, M.A., 434.	-	"	-
45.	1701-02	"	-	"	-
46.	1702-03	ʿAzīzullah Khān s/o Khalīlullah Khān (I) 1500/1000, M.A., 461.	-	"	-
47.	1703	-	-	" 2500/700 M.A., 473.	-
48.	1703-04	-	-	"	-

49.	1704-05	-	-	" Akhbārāt, 49 R.Y. 30 Jan. 1705.	-
50.	1705-06	-	-	"	-
51.	1706-07	-	-	"	-

CHAPTER - SIX

MAJOR IRĀNIAN FAMILIES

I. I'TIMĀD-UD DAULA'S FAMILY
II. 'ALI MARDAN KHAN'S FAMILY
III. KHAWAFIS AND MA'MURIS
IV. MIR JUMLA'S FAMILY.
V. OTHERS:

a. Mirzās of Qandahār
b. Asad Khān's Family
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CHAPTER SIX

MAJOR IRĀNIAN FAMILIES

I. IʿTIMĀD-UD DAULA'S FAMILY

The political eminence of Iʿtimād-ud Daula's family during the reign of Jahāngīr has been a question of great interest ever since the days of Jahāngīr himself.[1] From time to time modern scholars have analysed the influence of Nūr Jahān over the politics of Jahāngīr's reign.[2] The political influence of this family was not confined to Jahāngīr's reign only and it persisted during the reign of his immediate successor Shāhjahān and even during that of Aurangzeb. The genealogy of the family has already been traced by Irfan Habib. However, enlarged genealogical charts are being appended to this chapter with additional information about matrimonial connections in the subsequent generations. An attempt has been made here to study the extent of influence and power concentrated in the hands

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1. Muʿtamid Khān, Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, Calcutta, 1865, pp. 56-57.

2. S.H. Hodivala, 'The Coins bearing the name of Nūr Jahān', J.A.S.B. Numismatic Supplement, vol. XLII 1929, pp. 59-68; Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, Allahabad, 1962, pp. 171-180; S. Nurul Hasan, 'The Theory of the Nur Jahan Junta', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Trivandrum Session, 1958, pp. 324-335; Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nur Jahan During Jahangir's Reign - A Political Study', Medieval India - A Miscellany, vol. I, 1969, pp. 74-95.

of the members of the house of I'timād-ud Daula during the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb by analysing the appointments and manṣabs held by them. Information regarding manṣabs, important central offices and governorships of various provinces held by the members of this family has also been tabulated and appended to the chapter.

The family of I'timād-ud Daula generally maintained marriage relations with Irānian families.[1] Princes of the royal blood of course, formed an exception. The families with which matrimonial relations were entered into included the families of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī, Saiyid Muḥammad Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī, and Zūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū. Mīr Mīrān came to India in 1606 with his father Mīr Khalīlullah. Mīr Khalīlullah was a descendant of Saiyid Nooruddīn Shāh Ni'amatullah Walī, a descendant of Imām Mūsá Kāẓim.[2] Mīr Khalīlullah had married a grand daughter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī (daughter of his son Shāh Ismā'īl II).[3] After his arrival in India Mīr Mīrān married Ṣāliha Bāno Begum, daughter of Āṣaf Khān.[4] Mīr Mīrān's son, Khalīlullah Khān (from his Irānian wife and not from the daughter

1. See Afzal Husain, "Marriages Among Mughal Nobles as an Index of Status and Aristocratic Integration", in PIHC, 1972, pp. 304-12.

2. M.U. III, pp. 335-36; also see chapter 6 section (v).

3. A.A.A., I, p.228; Tuzuk, p.62.

4. M.U. III, pp. 341-42.

of Āṣaf Khān) was married to Ḥamīda Bāno Begum[1], a daughter of Mirzā Ṣafī Saif Khān who was a descendant of Āqā Mulla Dawātdār.[2] Khalīlullah Khān's son Rūḥullah Khān I was married to a daughter of Shāista Khān.[3] Thus a series of male members of the family of Mīr Mīrān married into the family of I'timād-ud Daula. Saiyid Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī also belonged to a respectable family of Persia. His ancestors had long been the custodians of the Mashhad shrine.[4] Amīr Shamsuddīn III, one of the great leaders of this family, was the recepient of imperial favours during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī who granted him the title of Sulṭān, gave him a drum and a flag, and bestowed on him the whole of the territory of Sabazwār.[5] On his arrival in India Saiyid Muḥammad Khān Sabazwārī married Nauras Bāno Begum the daughter of Muḥammad Sharīf, a son of I'timād-ud Daula.[6] In later generations another member of this family is known to have married into the family of I'timād-ud Daula. He was Muḥammad Taqī the son

1. M.U., I(b), p. 775.

2. He was the great grandson of Āqa Mullā. See Irfan Habib's article, op.cit.

3. Kāẓim, p. 477; M.U., II, p. 309.

4. M.U., III, p. 409.

5. M.U., III, 409-413; Cf. A.A.A., I, p.152.

6. T.M., p.21.

of Daud Khan, a son of Saiyid Muhammad Mukhtar Khan Sabazwari. Muhammad Taqi married a daughter of 'Azizuddin Bahramand Khan, who was a grandson of Sadiq Khan the nephew and son-in-law of I'timad-ud Daula. The family of Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu was also a family of high status in Iran.[1] He married a daughter of Sadiq Khan; and his son Muhammad Ibrahim Asad Khan married Mihrun Nisa', a daughter of Asaf Khan.[2] Asad Khan's son Muhammad Isma'il Zulfiqar Khan married a daughter of Shaista Khan.[3] Asad Khan's daughter was also married to Khuda Bandah Khan, son of Shaista Khan.[4]

At the time of the political crisis in 1627 after the death of Jahangir, Asaf Khan played a very important role in winning the succession for Shahjahan.[5] After his accession Shahjahan promoted Asaf Khan to the highest rank of 9000/9000 (2-3h) and confirmed him in the post of vakil[6] which he held till his death in 1641.[7] It is significant that after the death of Asaf Khan, Shahjahan did not fill the post of vakil[8]. Henceforth the office

1. For his family background see M.U., II, 85-89; also see Chapter 6 section (v).
2. M.U., II, p.93; T.M., p.35.
3. M.A., p. 158; T.M., p.31.
4. Ibid., p. 374; Akhbarat, 33 R.Y. 2 July, 1689.
5. Lahori, I(a), pp. 70-71.
6. Ibid., pp. 180, 193; Salih, I, p.284.
7. It may, however, be noted that the award of the mansab of 9000/9000 (2-3h) to Asaf Khan was unprecedented and was in violation of established rules and regulation governing the mansab system. No noble could be promoted beyond the rank of 7000/7000 (2-3h), (See Lahori, II, p.25).
8. Ibn Hasan, op.cit., p.134.

of wazīr became the principal office; but it was never held by the members of Āṣaf Khān's family throughout the reign of Shāhjahān. The only exception was Jaʿfar Khān the son of Ṣādiq Khān who, towards the close of Shāhjahān's reign, was appointed wazīr-i Kul vice Mīr Jumla in 1658.[1] The next important post of Mīr Bakhshī remained in the family of Āṣaf Khān for twenty-two years during the thirty-one years of Shāhjahān's reign.[2]

Besides the posts of vakīl, wazīr and Mīr Bakhshī other important central offices like Mīr Ātish, Mīr Tuzuk, Second Bakhshī, and several other offices of importance such as Ākhtabegī, Qarāwalbegī, Qūrbegī, Qūshbegī and faujdārīs of various sarkārs were held by members of ʿItimād-ud Daula's family.[3]

Many important governorships were also held by members of this family during Shāhjahān's reign as will be evident from Appendix B.[4] A statistical analysis of the total number of governors is given in the table and for convenience the calculation is done decade wise.[5]

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1. Ṣāliḥ, III, p.271.

2. See Appendix A; also Cf. the list of Mīr Bakhshīs of Shāhjahān given by Ibn Hasan (op. cit., pp. 230-31) which ends with Khalīlullah Khān in 23 R.Y.

3. See Appendix A.

4. The table is based on M.Athar Ali, 'Provincial Governors under Shahjahan', Medieval India - A Miscellany, III, 1975, pp. 80-112.

5. Since the reign of Shāhjahān covers a period of about thirty-two years, in the third decennial list the calculation is done for the remaining twelve years.

From these tables we find that, in the first decade (i.e. Ist to 10th R.Y.) the total number of governors of various provinces by year was 149, of whom 54 were members of I'timād-ud Daula's family, i.e. 36 per cent of the total number of governors. In the second decade (i.e. 11th to 20th R.Y.) the total number of governors of various provinces was 148, of whom members of I'timād-ud Daula's family were 47-giving 31.7 per cent of the total governors. In the third decade the position of the family declined, further the governors numbering 169 out of whom 50 belonged to or were related to the house of I'timād-ud Daula. Thus, the governorships held by the members of this family during the later years of Shāhjahān's reign (i.e. 21st to 32nd R.Y.) was only 29.5 per cent of the total governors of the empire.

But while there was a relative decline in the governors' posts held by I'timād-ud Daulas family, this accompanied a decline in the Irānian element. In fact among the Irānīs, the family of I'timād-ud Daula held in the three respective decades governorships amounting to 67.5%, 74.6% and 76.9% of the total held by Irānīs. In other words among the Irānīs, the family continued to hold a dominant position.

It is significant that Ẓafar Khān Khwāja Aḥsanullah held the governorship of Kashmir for a record period of

thirteen years with a short interval of three years. Similarly, ʿAlī Mardān Khān was appointed governor of Kabul and Kashmir and in each province he remained for a period of nine years. Amīr Khān was appointed ṣūbedār of Sind twice for a total period of nine years.[1]

The most striking feature of Shāhjahān's reign is that in spite of the fact that he was proud of his being a descendant of Amīr Taimūr Qirān-i Ṡānī and that he showed favour to the Tūrānīs, most of the important governorships were held by the members of Iʿtimād-ud Daula's family. For instance, from the second to the fifth regnal year of Shāhjahān's reign eight governorships were simultaneously held by the members of the family and out of these eight governorships three contiguous provinces in the east (i.e. Qāsim Khān Juwainī in Bengal, Bāqir Khān Najm Ṡānī in Orissa, and Saif Khān in Bihar) and four contiguous provinces in the west (i.e. Āṣaf Khān in Lahore and Multan, Iʿtiqād Khān in Kashmir and Amīr Khān in Sind) were entrusted to them while the Deccan was held by Aʿẓam Khān for a large part of the same period. Similarly from the 15th to the 21st regnal year three contiguous provinces (Kashmir, Sind and Kabul)[2]

1. See Appendix B.

2. Kashmir by Ẓafar Khān, Sind by Amīr Khān and Kabul by ʿAlī Mardān Khān. See Appendix B.

were simultaneously held by members of this family.

As has been mentioned in Chapter IV(a), the lists of manṣabdārs for the first twenty years of Shāhjahān's reign have been compiled from Lāhorī's Bādshāhnāma, and for the last ten years on the basis of Wāriṣ. For convenience tabulation has been done of all the manṣabdārs alive holding the rank of 1000 ẕāt and above at the end of each decade (the 10th, 20th and 30th R.Y.)[1]. On the basis of this calculation the percentage of the members of the family of I'timād-ud Daula in the total manṣabdārs at the end of each decade has been worked out (See Appendix E(i) to this Section)[2]. It appears that in 1637 members of I'timād-ud Daula's family held 68,000 ẕāt and 63,300 sawār out of a total number of 4,54,500 ẕāt and 3,63,550 sawār i.e. 14.96 per cent of the total ẕāt and 17.41 per cent of the total sawār ranks. At the close of second decade (1647) they held 70,500 ẕāt out of 4,67,000 total ẕāt rank and 60,350 sawār out of the total 3,80,800 sawār rank, that is, 15.08 and 15.84 per cent of the total ẕāt and sawār ranks respectively. By the termination of the third decade (1657-58) the position of the family seems to have further improved. Out of 4,97,500 total ẕāt rank the members of the family were holding 83,000 ẕāt and out of

1. See the list at the end of Chapter IV (a).
2. Table showing position of I'timād-ud Daula's family as manṣabdār under Shāhjahān.

3,72,950 total sawār rank they were holding 75,600 sawār, that is, 16.68 per cent of the total zāt rank and 20.27 per cent of the total sawār rank.

In other words, members of I'timād-ud Daula's family accounted for a little more than one-sixth of the zāt rank and one-fifth of the sawār rank throughout the reign of Shāh-jahān while during Jahāngīr's reign the members of this family accounted for nearly one-twelfth of the zāt and one-tenth of the sawār ranks in 1621,[1] the period during which the family was said to have reached the climax of its power.[2]

Thus, during the reign of Shāhjahān the fortunes of the family of I'timād-ud Daula continued to be in the ascendant, and the members of his family were given rapid promotions and were entrusted with important assignments.

In the reign of Aurangzeb too, the family appears to have continued to enjoy important positions, as would appear from the appendices, showing central offices and governorships held by the members of the family. The majority of the incumbents in most of the central offices and even governorships came from the house of I'timād-ud Daula. The office of wazīr or Dīwān-i kul, was entrusted

1. Irfan Habib, op. cit., p.95.
2. Ibid., pp. 78-79.

to the members of this house for the larger period of Aurangzeb's reign, there being four wazirs from this house. Ja'far Khān the son of Ṣādiq Khān held this office for a period of seven years and Asad Khān, a son-in-law of Āṣaf Khān, for the longest tenure of about 30 years (from 1676 to 1707) with the exception of a short interval of about a year (1692 to 1693) when he was away on the military campaign in the carnatic. During this period his son-in-law and a grandson of Ṣādiq Khān, Bahramand Khān acted as his deputy dīwān.[1]

The office of Mīr Bakhshī was also for most of the time under Aurangzeb, kept in the hands of I'timād-ud Daula's family. As many as five of its members held this office. Bahrāmand Khān held it for the longest period (over ten years), from July 1692 to November 1702. Asad Khān, Rūḥullah Khān and Zūlfiqār Khān held it for more than five years each.

Similarly, the post of second bakhshī was mostly held by members of this family. Asad Khān and Bahrāmand Khān successively occupied the office for a period of about seventeen years of which Asad Khān's single tenure was of twelve years. Rūḥullah Khān and his son Rūḥullah Khān II again successively held it for over ten years.

1. See Appendix-C.

As regards the post of Mīr Ātish our table shows that seven of its occupants during Aurangzeb's reign belonged to I'timād-ud Daula's family. The Sabzwārīs, who were matrimonially related to the family, held this office for a period of ninteen years, during eleven of which Tarbiyat Khān Mīr Khalīl alone held the office.[1]

Another important central office was that of Mīr Sāmān or Khān-i Sāmān and it appears to have been the sole monopoly of the Irānian incumbents since Shāhjahān's reign. Here too we find the predominence of I'timād-ud Daula's relations. Out of the total nine Mīr Sāmāns of Aurangzeb five were members of I'timad-ud Daula's family. Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān held this office for about seven years, Rūḥullah Khān and his son Rūḥullah Khān II held it for about nine years while Khudā Banda Khān, the last of Aurangzeb's Mīr Sāmāns, occupied the office for about three years.[2]

The two other important offices of Ākhtabegī (master of horse) and Dārogha-i Ghusalkhāna, to which only trusted nobles were appointed were mostly occupied by the members of the family, which provided seven holders of the post of Ākhtabegī during Aurangzeb's reign.

1. See Appendix-C.

2. Ibid.

Similarly, for the office of the superintendent of Ghusal khāna I'timād-ud Daula's family furnished six occupants. Out of 29 years in which appointments to the post of Ākhtabegī are known the members of I'timād-ud Daula's family served for 16 years, Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān and his brother Multafat Khān successively serving for about eight years. Their cousin Rūḥullah Khān appears to have been appointed thrice to this office, serving for a total period of about seven years. Similarly to the office of the Dārogha of the Ghusal Khāna, out of 34 years in which appointments are known, the members of I'timād-ud Daula's family are found to have served for 17 years, Bahramand Khān served for six years, Hoshdār Khān five years and I'tiqād Khān (Zūlfiqār Khān) for three years.[1]

As far as governorships of various provinces are concerned, we have prepared a table on the basis of the tabulations prepared by M. Athar Ali showing the governorships of various provinces held by members of the family. Most of the important provinces like Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Orissa and Bengal were, for most of Aurangzeb's reign, held by the members of I'timād-ud Daula's family. Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān

1. See Appendix-C.

held the governorship of Kabul for a period of 29 years being appointed twice in the same province, first for seven years (4th-10th R.Y.) and then for continuous 22 years (20th-41st R.Y.). Shāista Khān was also appointed twice as ṣūbedār of Bengal for a total tenure of 23 years. He also held the office of the ṣūbedār of the adjoining province of Orissa for nine years together with Bengal. Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg appears to have been appointed thrice as ṣūbedār of Kashmir for a total period of 14 years. Muḥammad Yār Khān occupied the governorship of Delhi for about twelve years (40th-51st R.Y.). Moreover, most of the provinces in the Deccan also appear to have been held by members of the family.

It may also be noted that many contiguous provinces were simultaneously held by the members of the family. Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg was ṣūbedār of Bihar from 11th R.Y. to 17th R.Y. while Shāista Khān was ṣūbedār of Bengal during the same period. From 22nd to 30th R.Y. Shāista Khān was simultaneously holding the two contiguous provinces of Bengal and Orissa. In 31st R.Y. Shāista Khān was succeeded, in the two provinces, by Abū Naṣr Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg who respectively held Orissa and Bengal till the 37th R.Y. of Aurangzeb's reign. Subsequently, for the next two years Kāmgār

Khān served as ṣūbedār of Orissa in succession to Abū Naṣr Khān together with Ibrāhīm Khān Zig in Bengal. Thus, for a considerable time the two contiguous provinces of Bengal and Orissa remained in the hands of the family. Three contiguous provinces in the north - Agra, Awadh and Delhi - were also occupied most of the time by members of the family. For instance, Agra was held by Shāista Khān in the Ist R.Y. and by Hoshdār Khān from 6th to 13th R.Y.; Awadh was held by Mīr Isḥāq Irādat Khān in the Ist R.Y. and by Murād Kām Ṣafavī Mukarram Khān from 3rd to 8th R.Y. In the 12th and 13th R.Y. when Agra was under Hoshdār Khān, Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān held Allahabad and Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg governed Bihar, and Nāmdār Khān, in the 13th R.Y., simultaneously held Delhi. In 21st R.Y. the two contiguous provinces Gujarat and Malwa were governed respectively by Mukhtār Khān Shamsuddīn and Khān-i Zamān Muftakhar Khān in 25th and 26th R.Ys. Interestingly enough, when in the 36th R.Y. of Aurangzeb's reign Shāista Khān was ṣūbedār of Agra his son Buzurg Umed Khān governed Allahabad. Next year, after his death, his son ʿItiqād Khān governed Agra and another son Khudā Banda Khān governed Awadh while Bihar was under Mukhtār Khān Qamaruddīn. From 40th R.Y. down to the end of Aurangzeb's reign the two contiguous provinces

of Agra and Delhi remained all the time in the hands of I'timād-ud Daula's family. In addition to these two provinces other contiguous provinces like Awadh, Allahabad and Ajmer were also, at times, simultaneously held by the members of the family.[1]

In the north and north west two to three of the four contiguous provinces of Kashmir, Lahore Sindh and Kabul were for certain periods simultaneously governed by the members of I'timād-ud Daula's family. In the 2nd and 3rd R.Y. the two provinces of Lahore and Kashmir, were respectively governed by Khalīlullah Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg. When Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān was governor of Kabul from 20th to 40th R.Y. the two other provinces of Sind and Kashmir were most of the time under the charge of the members of the family.[2] During the last decade of Aurangzeb's reign the two contiguous provinces of Agra and Delhi were simultaneously governed by members of the family. Moreover, other provinces like Allahabad, Awadh and Ajmer were also at times simultaneously held by the members of this family during the period.

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1. See Appendix-D.

2. Ibid.

It may also be noted that many provinces in the Deccan were also simultaneously held by the members of I'timād-ud Daula's family throughout Aurangzeb's reign. It appears from our tabulation of various governorships that members of the family held governorship in three important provinces - namely Agra in the north, Bengal in the east, and Kabul in the north-west for the larger part of Aurangzeb's reign.

As regards the manṣabs of the family an analysis of the same has been made on the basis of the two lists given by M. Athar Ali for the two phases - 1658 to 1678 and 1679 to 1707 of Aurangzeb's reign. Manṣabs, ranging from 1000 ẕāt and above, of those members of the family have been taken into account, who were known to have been alive by the end of each phase. Thus, by the end of the first phase i.e. 1678 it appears that out of a total 6,85,000 ẕāt and 4,39,850 sawār members of I'timād-ud Daula's family held 90,500 ẕāt and 70,700 sawār. By the end of the second phase i.e. 1707 the family accounted for 65,500 ẕāt and 49,700 sawār out of a total 9,69,900 ẕāt and 6,30,100 sawār ranks. Thus, the share of the family in the total rank at the close of the first phase was 13.22 per cent of the total ẕāt and 16.07 per cent of the total sawār ranks (on the above hypothetical basis). A marked decline, however, is

noticed in the second phase as by the end of 1707 the family's share in the total rank was 6.75 per cent zāt and 7.88 per cent sawār.[1]

The apparent decline in I'timād-ud Daula's family fortunes was probably because of the inflation of total manṣabs owing to the influx of new recruits (the Deccanīs, Marathas, etc.). Compared to the Irānīs in general, there was no decline in the family's fortunes whatsoever. Tables A and B give a summary of the total manṣabs held by the family under Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb.

Table-A Shāhjahān

Year	Total rank held by Irānīs		Total rank held by I'timād-ud Daula's family		Family's position in percentage
	Zāt	Sawār	Zāt	Sawār	
1637	1,66,000	1,31,300	68,000	63,300	40.96/48.21
1647	1,53,500	1,28,100	70,500	60,350	45.92/47.11
1657	1,86,000	1,45,200	83,000	75,600	44.62/52.06
				Average	43.83/49.12

Table-B Aurangzeb

Year	Total rank held by Irānīs		Total rank held by I'timād-ud Daula's family		Family's position in percentage
	Zāt	Sawār	Zāt	Sawār	
1678	1,95,500	1,30,050	90,500	70,700	46.28/54.36
1707	1,56,000	1,02,150	65,500	49,700	41.98/48.60
				Average	44.13/51.48

1. See Table showing position of I'timad-ud Daula's family as Manṣabdārs under Aurangzeb in Appendix E(ii).

It is clear from the above tables that the average share of the family in the total rank held by Irānīs under Aurangzeb (44.13% zāt and 51.48% sawār) was larger than that of under Shāhjahān (43.83% zāt and 49.12% sawār).

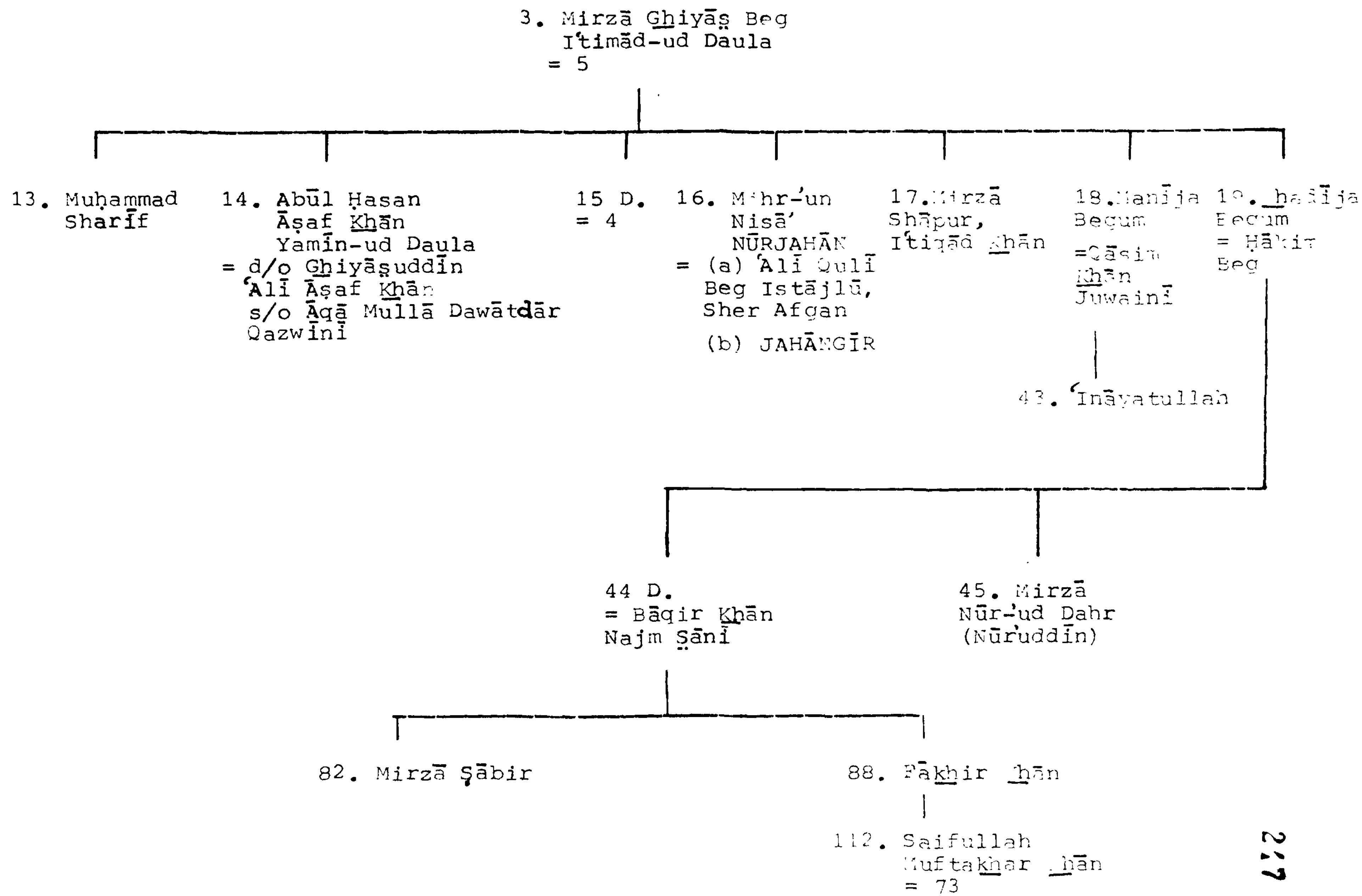
The family of ʿItimād-ud Daula, thus, enjoyed power and position continuously down to Aurangzeb's death, enabled them to remain entrenched in power. The family could claim such a privileged position under Mughal emperors for such a long spell of time perhaps not only because of the personal capabilities of its members but also because of their advantageous relationships - matrimonial relations with the Imperial family and marriages with many prominent Irānī families.

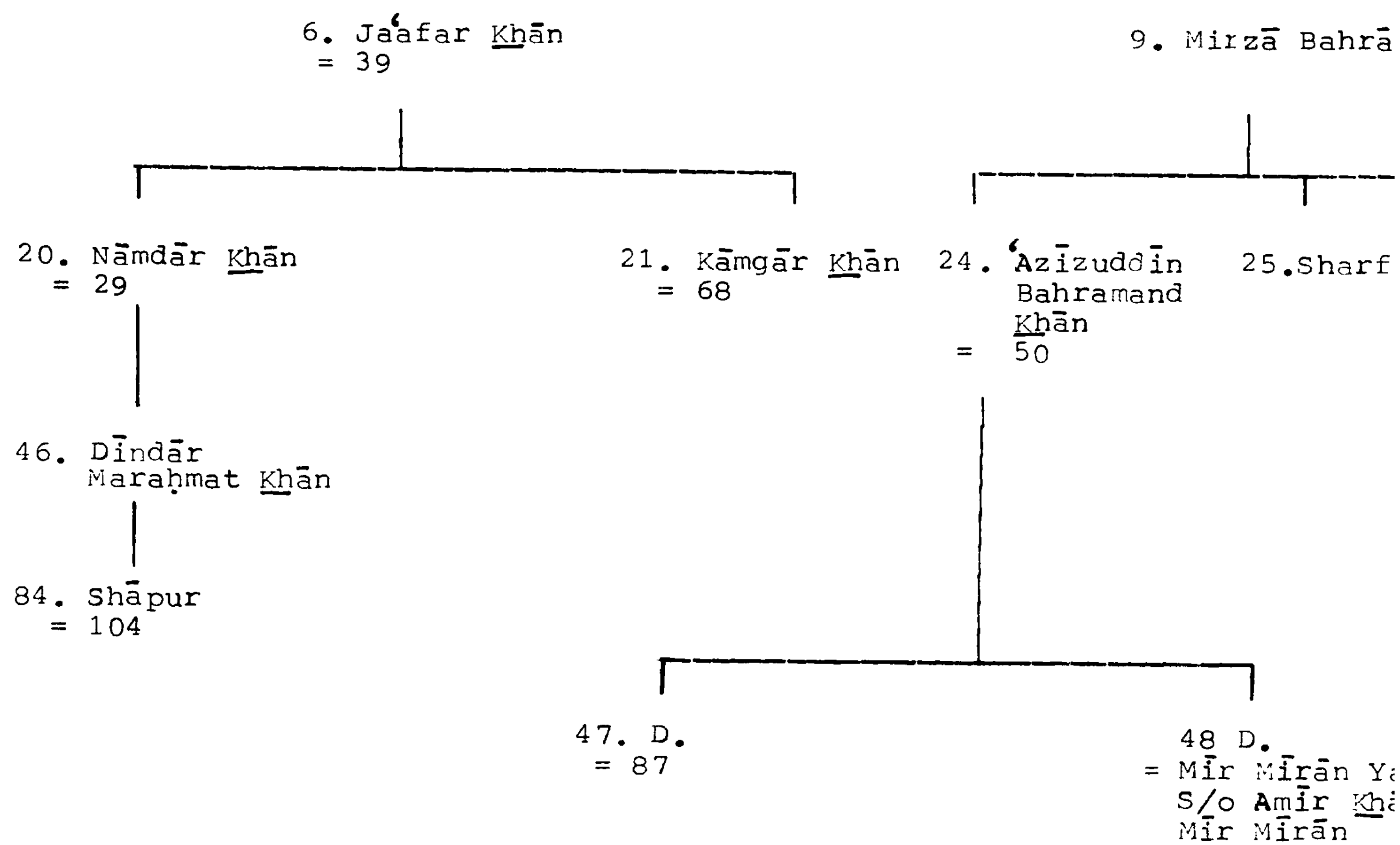
APPENDIX

Genealogical chart of I'timād-ud Daula's Family

1. Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf Hijrī Tehrānī
   = d/o Āqā Mullā Dawātdār Qazwīnī

- 2. Khwāja Muhammad Āqā Tāhir 'wasli'
  - 4. Sādiq Khān (Mīr Bakhshī) = 15.
    - 6. Ja'far Khān = 39
    - 7. Roshan Zamīr Salābat Khān
      - 22. Muhammad Murād, Iltifāt Khān
      - 23 D. = Muhammad Ibrāhīm Ghairat Khān s/o Najābat Khān
    - 8. 'Abdur Rahmān Marahmat Khān
    - 9. Mirzā Bahrām
- 3. Mirzā Ghiyās Beg I'timād-ud Daula
  = 5. 'Asmat Begum d/o Mirzā 'Alāuddaula Qazwīnī
  - 10 Bilqis Bāno = Khānlar Zūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū
  - 11 D. = Irij Khān s/o Qazilbāsh Khān, Afshār
  - 12 D.


3. Mirzā Ghiyās Beg
I'timād-ud Daula
= 5
13. Muḥammad
Sharīf
14. Abūl Ḥasan
Āṣaf Khān
Yamīn-ud Daula
= d/o Ghiyāṣuddīn
'Alī Āṣaf Khān
s/o Āqā Mullā Dawātdār
Qazwīnī
15 D.
= 4
16. Mihr-un
Nisā'
NŪRJAHĀN
= (a) 'Alī Qulī
Beg Istājlū,
Sher Afgan
(b) JAHĀNGĪR
17. Mirzā
Shāpur,
I'tiqād Khān
18. Manīja
Begum
= Qāsim
Khān
Juwainī
19. Khadīja
Begum
= Ḥākim
Beg
43. 'Ināyatullah
44 D.
= Bāqir Khān
Najm Sānī
45. Mirzā
Nūr-ud Dahr
(Nūruddīn)
82. Mirzā Ṣābir
88. Fākhir Khān
112. Saifullah
Muftakhar Khān
= 73

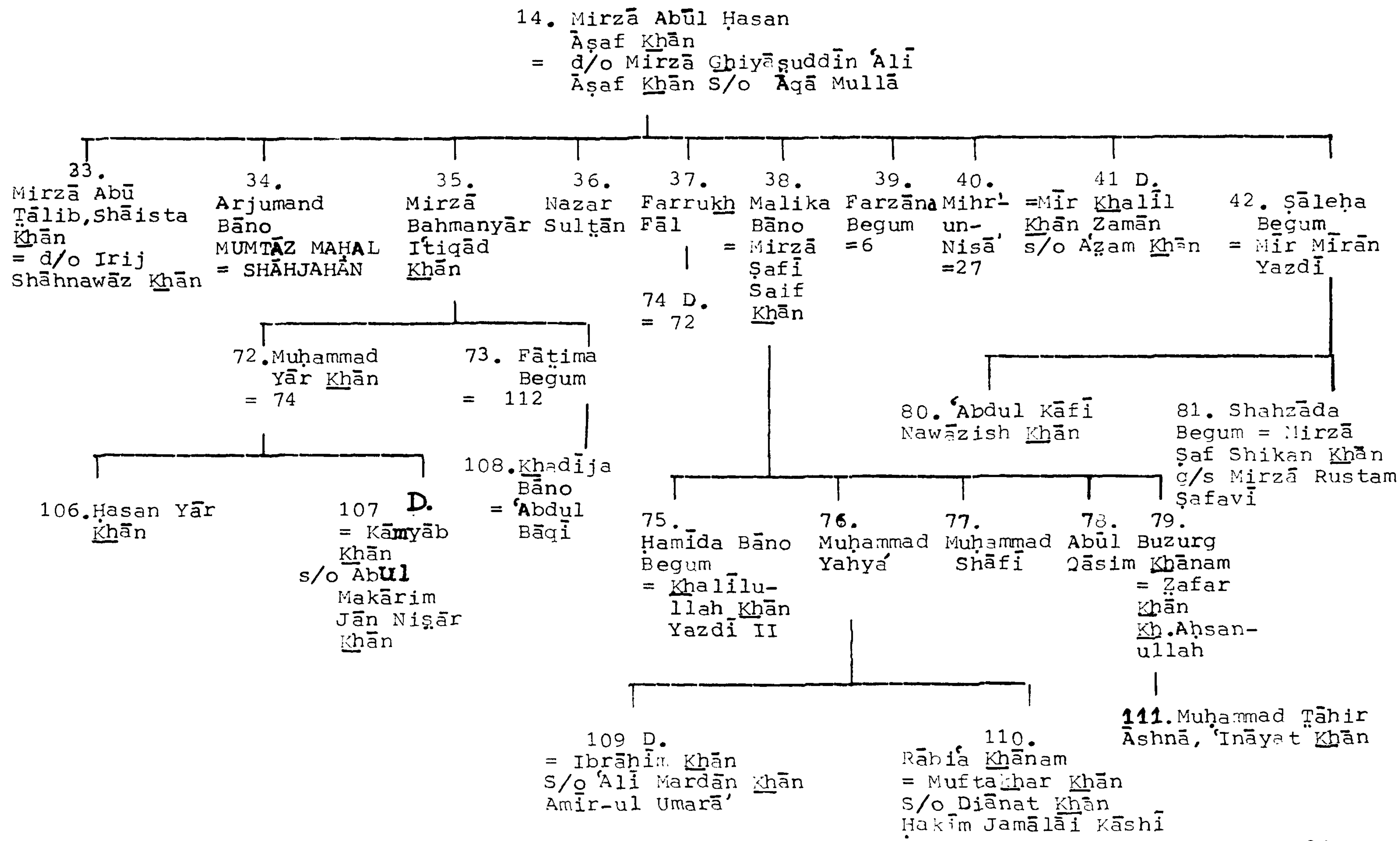

6. Jaʻafar Khān
= 39
9. Mirzā Bahrā
20. Nāmdār Khān
= 29
21. Kāmgār Khān
= 68
24. ʻAzīzuddīn
Bahramand
Khān
= 50
25. Sharf
46. Dīndār
Marahmat Khān
84. Shāpur
= 104
47. D.
= 87
48 D.
= Mīr Mīrān Ya
S/o Amīr Khā
Mīr Mīrān

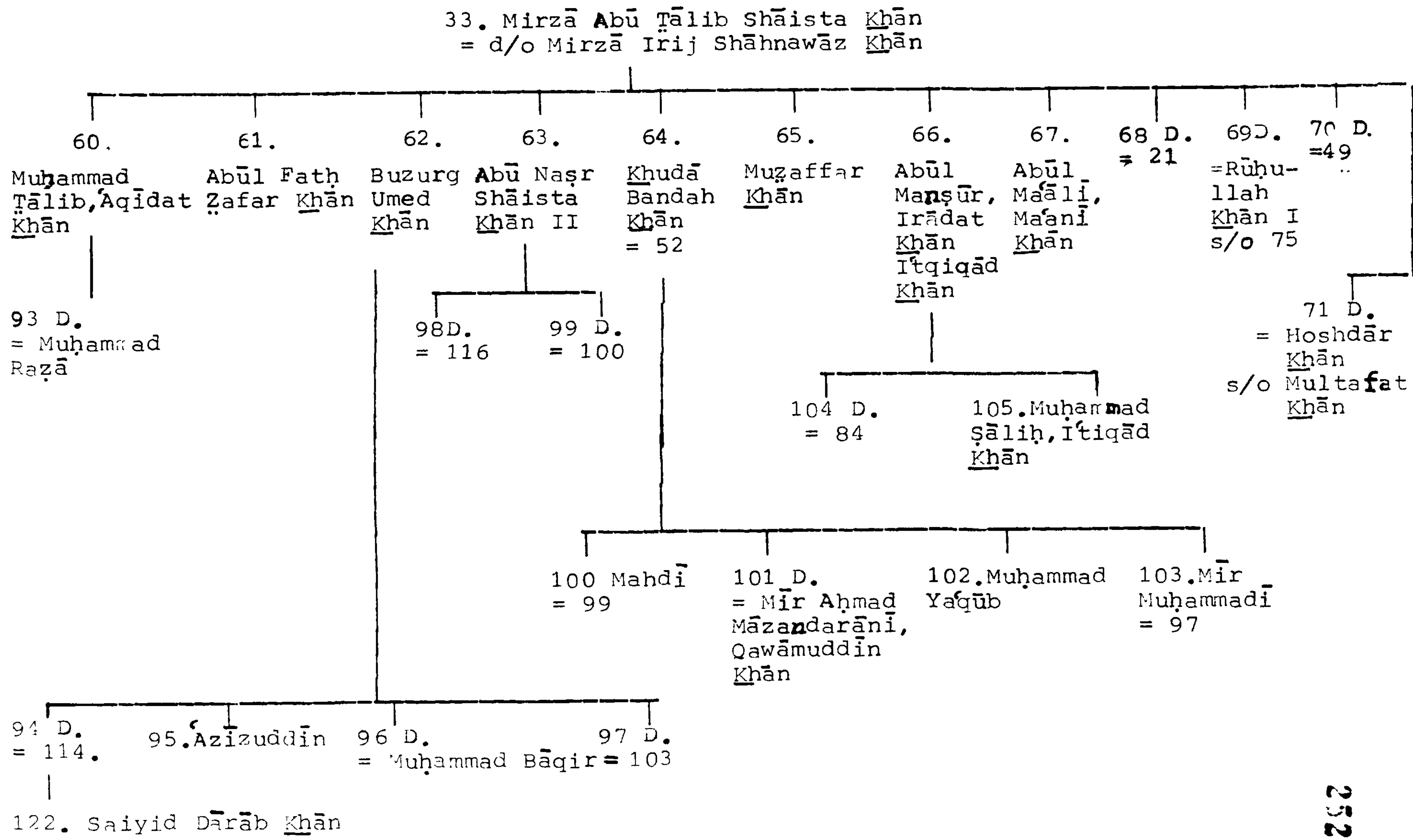
10. Bilqīs Bāno
  = Khānlar Zūlfiqār
  Khān Qarāmānlū

- 27. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān
  = 40
  - 49. Muḥammad Ismaʿīl Zūlfiqār Khān
    = 70
  - 50 D.
    = 24
  - 51 D.
    = 86
  - 52 D.
    = 64
- 28. D.
  = Prince Zainuddīn s/o Prince Shujāʿ
- ?9 D.
  = 20

13. Muḥammad Sharīf
S/o I'timād-ud Daula

- 30. Naurang Bāno = Saiyid Muḥammad Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī
  - 53. Shamsuddīn Mukhtār Khān
    - 85. Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān
      - 113. Potī Begum = Prince Bedār Bakht
  - 54. Dārāb Khān
  - 55. Gulrang Bāno Begum = Mirzā Muḥsin
    - 90. Maṭlab Khān
      - 119. Maṭlab Khān = 92
      - 120. Abū Ṭālib Khān = 115
      - 121 D. = 88
  - 56. Mīr Bahādur Dil, Jān Sipār Khān
    - 91. Mīr Rustam Dil
    - 92 D. = 119
- 31. Nauras Bāno = Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī
  - 57. Dilras Bāno = AURANGZEB
- 32. Mirzā Abū Sa'īd
  - 58. Ṣalāḥuddīn
  - 59. Ḥamīduddīn Khānazād Khān


14. Mirzā Abūl Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān = d/o Mirzā Ghiyāṣuddin 'Ali Āṣaf Khān S/o Āqā Mullā
33. Mirzā Abū Ṭālib, Shāista Khān = d/o Irij Shāhnawāz Khān
34. Arjumand Bāno MUMTĀZ MAHAL = SHĀHJAHĀN
35. Mirzā Bahmanyār I'tiqād Khān
36. Nazar Sulṭān
37. Farrukh Fāl
38. Malika Bāno = Mirzā Ṣafī Saif Khān
39. Farzāna Begum =6
40. Mihr-un-Nisā' =27
41 D. =Mir Khalīl Khān Zamān s/o A'ẓam Khān
42. Ṣāleḥa Begum = Mir Mirān Yazdī
74 D. = 72
72. Muḥammad Yār Khān = 74
73. Fāṭima Begum = 112
80. 'Abdul Kāfī Nawāzish Khān
81. Shahzāda Begum = Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān g/s Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī
106. Ḥasan Yār Khān
107 D. = Kāmyāb Khān s/o Abul Makārim Jān Niṣār Khān
108. Khadīja Bāno = 'Abdul Bāqī
75. Ḥamīda Bāno Begum = Khalīlu-llah Khān Yazdī II
76. Muḥammad Yaḥyā
77. Muḥammad Shāfī
78. Abūl Qāsim
79. Buzurg Khānam = Ẓafar Khān Kh. Aḥsan-ullah
109 D. = Ibrāhim Khān S/o 'Ali Mardān Khān Amir-ul Umarā'
110. Rābi'a Khānam = Muftakhar Khān S/o Diānat Khān Ḥakim Jamālāi Kāshī
111. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Āshnā, 'Ināyat Khān


33. Mirzā Abū Ṭālib Shāista Khān
= d/o Mirzā Irij Shāhnawāz Khān
60. Muḥammad Ṭālib, ʿAqīdat Khān
61. Abūl Fatḥ Ẓafar Khān
62. Buzurg Umed Khān
63. Abū Naṣr Shāista Khān II
64. Khudā Bandah Khān = 52
65. Muẓaffar Khān
66. Abūl Manṣūr, Irādat Khān Iʿtqiqād Khān
67. Abūl Maʿālī, Maʿānī Khān
68 D. = 21
69 D. = Rūḥu-llah Khān I s/o 75
70 D. = 49
71 D. = Hoshdār Khān s/o Multafat Khān
93 D. = Muḥammad Raẓā
98 D. = 116
99 D. = 100
104 D. = 84
105. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, Iʿtiqād Khān
100 Mahdī = 99
101 D. = Mīr Aḥmad Māzandarānī, Qawāmuddīn Khān
102. Muḥammad Yaʿqūb
103. Mīr Muḥammadī = 97
94 D. = 114.
95. ʿAzīzuddīn
96 D. = Muḥammad Bāqir = 103
97 D.
122. Saiyid Dārāb Khān

- 54. Dārāb Khān S/o 30
  - 86. Muḥammad Khalīl, Tarbiyat Khān = 51
    - 114. Muḥammad Isḥāq = 94
    - 115. D. = 120
  - 87. Muḥammad Taqī = 47
    - 116. Mubīn Muḥammad Taqī = 98
    - 117. Mīr ʿAlī Naqī Bahramand Khān
  - 88. Kāmyāb Khān = 121
    - 118. Farzāna Bāno = Amīrul Umarā' Ḥusain ʿAlī Khān
  - 89 D. = Mīr Lashkar Ṣafavī

References to the Genealogical Charts

The following symbols have been employed to explain relationships in the chart:

:	indicates	'father/mother of'
+	"	'brother/sister of'
=	"	'husband/wife of'
÷	"	'grandson of'
S/o	"	'son of'
d/o	"	'daughter of'
S/L	"	'son-in-law of'

Numbers prefacing the names of persons in the chart	Sources
1 = d/o Āqā Mullā Dawātdār	A.A.A. I, 165.
1 : 2+3	Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, Haft Iqlīm, ed. Jawwad Fazil, Elmi Press, Tehran, Vol. III, 6. Iqbālnāma, 54.
2 : 4; 4 = 15	Tuzuk, 152 ; Z.Kh., II, 208.
3 = 5; 5 d/o Mirzā ʿAlāuddīn Qazwini S/o Āqā Mullā	Iqbālnāma, 54; Z.Kh., II, 405.
3 : 13	Tuzuk, 58; Iqbālnāma, 28, 29.
3 : 14	Tuzuk, 98, 127 etc., Iqbālnāma, 74
3 : 15; 15 = 4	Iqbālnāma, 295; Z.Kh, I, 208.
3 : 16	Tuzuk, 336; Iqbālnāma, 54-55.
3 : 17	Tuzuk, 106; Z.Kh., II, 209.
3 : 1 ; 18 = Qāsim Khān Juwainī	Tuzuk, 224, 270; M.U. III, 7 -79.
3 : 19; 19 = Ḥākim Beg	Z.Kh. II, 288.

4 : 6+7+8+9	Lāhorī, II, 538-39.
4 : 10; 10 = Khānlar Zūlfiqār Khān	Z.Kh. II, 411; M.U. II , 88.
4 : 11+12; 12 = Iraj Khān Afshār	Yūsuf Mīrak, Tārīkh-i Maẓhar-i Shāhjahānī, (hereafter T.M.S.), ed. Syed Hisāmuddīn Rāshidi, Vol.II, Karachi, 1961, Genealogical chart of Nūrjahān's paternal side (under Ṣādiq Khān); See also M.U. I, 268-72.
6 = 39; 39: 20+21	Z.kh.III,31; M.A.,103;M.U.I, 531.
7 : 22	M.U. II, 731-33.
7 : 23; 23 = Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Shujā'at Khān S/o Najābat Khān Mirzā Shujā'	T.M.,20.
9 : 24+25	M.A.,103; M.U. I, 455.
9 : 26; 26 = Prince Sulaimān Shukoh	M.U., I, 454.
10 - Khānlar Zūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū : 27,27=40	Z.Kh. II,411; Ṣādiq Khān, f.89(b); Kāẓim,439; M.U. I,310; II, 93; T.M. 35, 74.
10 : 28; 28 = Prince Zainuddīn S/o Prince Shujā'	M.U., II, 89.
10 : 29; 29=20; 20 S/L Khānlar, Zūlfiqār Khān	Kāẓim,439; M.A. 27; T.M.,8.
13 : 30, 30 = Saiyid Muḥammad Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī : 56+56	T.M., 13, 21.
13 : 31	T.M., 162.
13 : 32; 32 ÷ 3	Tuzuk, 342;Iqbālnāma,291; Z.Kh. II, 311; M.A. 221.
14 + 16	Tuzuk,336; Iqbālnāma, 74,259.
14 = d/o Ghiyāṣuddīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān s/o Āqā Mullā Dawātdār	Qazwīnī, Bādshāhnāma, Transcript in the Department of History Library, Aligarh No.13, p.83 (hereinafter cited as Qazwīnī); Ṣāliḥ, I, 44.

14 : 33; 33 ÷ 3	Iqbālnāma,275-277; Z.Kh.II,188-89.
14 : 34; 34 = SHĀHJAHĀN	Tuzuk,110; Qazwīnī,93,94; Lāhorī I(a), 93.
14 : 35	Lāhorī I(b), 242, 321; II, 116, 728; Manucci II, 389.
14 : 36	T.M.S. Genealogical Chart under No.35
14 : 37	Manucci II, 389.
14 : 38; 38 = Mirzā Ṣafī Saif Khān	Tuzuk,362; Iqbālnāma,301; Lāhorī,I(a),77.
14 : 39, 39 = 6, 6 S/L 14	Z.Kh. III, 31; M.U. I, 531.
14 : 40; 40 = 27	M.U. II, 93; T.M., 35.
14 : 41; 41 = Mīr Khalīl Khān Zamān S/o ʿAẓam Khān	T.M.S. Genealogical Chart under No.42; M.A.,209;M.U.,I,785.
14 : 42; 42 = Mīr Mīrān Yazdī	M.U.,III,341,829-30.
16 = SHER AFGAN	Iqbālnāma, 55.
16 = JAHĀNGĪR	Tuzuk,130,335 etc.;Iqbālnāma,56.
18 : 43	T.M.S. Genealogical Chart under No.13; M.U. III, 78-82.
19 : 44 + 45	T.M.S. Genealogical Chart; M.U. I, 573-76; Cf. Z.Kh. II,288.
19 : 44; 44 = Bāqir Khān Najm Ṣānī : 82 + 83	Z.Kh. II, 254; M.U. I, 408-12.
20 = 29; 29 : 46	M.U. III, 830-33; T.M.,9.
21 = 68	T.M.,27.
24 = 50 : 47 + 48	M.U. I,456-57; T.M. 16.
27 : 49; 49 = 70	M.A.158; M.U.I(a) 320-21; II,93; T.M. 31.
27 : 50; 50 = 24; 24 S/L 27	M.A. 461; M.U. I,454-57; T.M. 16.
27 : 51; 51 = 86	Akhbārāt,39 R.Y.,18 January,1696; T.M. 22.

27 : 52, 52 = 64	Akhbārāt,33 R.Y., 11 July,1689; M.A., 374.
30 : 53 + 54 + 56	M.U. III,413.
30 : 55; 55 = Mirzā Muḥsin ; 90	M.U. III, 650; T.M. 21.
31 : Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	M.A.,109; T.M.,10.
31 : 57	M.A.,536; T.M. 162.
32 : 58 + 59	Kāẓim,623 where it is mentioned that 58 and 59 were sons of 32; and 54 was sister's son of 32. This confirms that 32 was the son of 13 whose daughter 30 was the mother of 54. Cf. M.A. 109 has wrongly mentioned 54 as the son of 32.
33 = d/o Iraj Shāhnawāz Khān S/o ʿAbdur Raḥim Khān Khānān	Iqbālnāma, 275; M.U. II, 706.
33 : 60; 60:93; 93 = Muḥammad Raẓā	Akhbārāt,43 R.Y. 9 Ẕiqʿada (29 April) 1699; M.A. 26.
33 : 61	Kāẓim, 140, 291, 416; M.U. II, 706; T.U. 112.
33 : 62	Kāẓim, 140; M.A. 54.
33 : 63	M.U. I,292; T.M. 21.
33 : 64; 64 = 52	M.A.,351,371,372;M.U. I,814.
33 : 65	M.A., 348.
33 : 66	M.A.,369; T.M.,14.
33 : 67	Akhbārāt,44 R.Y. 21 Rabīʿ I, (25 Aug.) 1700; M.A.,369; T.U.,175.
33 : 68; 68 = 21; 21 ÷ 14	T.M.,27.
33 : 69; 69 = Rūḥullah Khān I	Kāẓim,477; M.U. II,309,706.
33 : 70; 70 = 49	M.A.,158; T.M.,31.
33 : 71;71 = Hoshdār Khān S/o Multafat Khān	M.A.,114; T.M. 6.

35 : 74; 72=7	M.A.,110; Manucci IV, 117; M.U. III, 706-707.
35 : 73; 73 = 112	M.U.,I,57; T.M.,1.
3 : 74; 74 = 74	M.A.,110; M.U. III,706-707.
38 = Mirzā Ṣafī Saif Khān : 76 or 77+78	Z.Kh. II,238; M.U. II,416-21.
38 : 75; 75 = Khalīlullah Khān Yazdī	M.A.,38; M.U. I, 775.
38 : 79; 79 = Ẓafar Khān S/o Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbati	Z.Kh. II,290; M.U. II,762-63.
42 : 80; 80 ÷ 14	Lāhorī, II, 116.
42 : 81; 81 = Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān Ṣafavī	Lāhorī, II, 185; Wāris, 3; M.U., III, 178-79.
46 : 84; 84 = 104	Akhbārāt, 39 R.Y. Rabī II, Nov. 1695.
47 = 87; 87 S/L 21	M.U. I, 457.
= Mir Khān S/o Amir Khān Mir Mirān	M.A. 73; M.U. I(a), 28; T. 66.
53 : 85	M.A., 167; M.U. III, 655.
54 : 86+87+88+89	M.U.,II, 40-41.
56 : 91	M.U., I, 537.
57 = AURANGZEB	Lāhorī I(b), 243; II, 22; M.A.,5 .
62 : 94; 94 = 114	Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y. 1 Rabī II, (4 Oct.) 1699.
62 : 95	Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y. 26 Rabī I, 1 , 44 R.Y. 26 Sept. 1700.
62 : 96; 96 = Muhammad Bāqir	Akhbārāt, 10 R.Y. 10 April, 1 .
62 : 97; 97 = 103	Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y. 11 Ziqada, (1 May) 1699.
63 : 98; 98 = 116	M.A., 480; M.U. I, 0.
63 : 99; 99 = 100	Akhbārāt, 50 R.Y. 7 Shābān (3 Nov.) 1706.

64 : 100, 100 = 99	Akhbarat, 50 R.Y. 7 Shaʿbān (3 Nov.) 1706.
64 : 101; 101 = Mīr Ahmad Māzandarānī	T.M., 83.
64 : 102	Akhbārāt, 33 R.Y. (Shawwāl), 25 July, 1689.
64 : 103; 103 = 97	Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y. 11 Ziqʿada (1 May) 1699.
66 : 104, 104 = 84	Akhbārāt, 39 R.Y. (Rabīʿ II), 4 Nov. 1695.
66 : 105	T.M., 137.
72 : 106	M.U. III, 709, 710; T.U. 53.
72 : 107; 107 = Kāmyāb Khān S/o ʿAbdul Makārim Jān Nisār Khān	M.U. I, 539; T.M. 85, 163-64.
76 : 109; 109 = Ibrāhīm Beg S/o ʿAlī Mardān Khān Zīg	T.M.,27.
76 : 110; 110 = Muftakhar Khān S/o Diānat Khān Hakim Jamālāi Kāshī	T.M., 127.
79 : 111	Lāhorī II, 744; Ṣāliḥ III, 278; M.U. II, 762-63.
83 : 112; 112 = 73	M.U. I, 231; T.M. 4.
85 : 113; 113 = Prince Bedār Bakht S/o Prince Aʿzam	M.U. III, 655.
86 : 114; 114 = 94	Akhbārāt, 43 R.Y. (19 Rabīʿ II), 4 Oct.,1699.
86 = 51, 86:114.	T.M. 22, 101.
86 : 115; 115 = 120	M.U. III, 652.
87 = 47 : 116 = 98	M.A. 221,480; M.U. I,457.
87 : 117; 117 = 24	T.M. 90.
88 = 121: 118 = Amīr-ul Umarāʾ Husain ʿAlī Khān	M.U. II, 41; III,650-53; T.M. 84.

89 = Mīr Lashkarī Ṣafavī	M.U. II, 41 where it is mentioned that Mīr Lashkarī was a descendant of Mirzā Ḥaidar Ṣafavī.
90 : 119+120+121; 119=92	M.U. III,652.
112:108; 108 = ʿAbdul Bāqi	Akhbārāt,51 R.Y. (13 Ẕiqʿada) 5 Feb.,1707.
114 : 122	T.M. 101.

APPENDIX - A

I'TIMĀD-UD DAULA'S RELATIONS HOLDING CENTRAL OFFICES UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

R.Y.	Vakīl/ Wazīr	Mīr Bakhshī	Mīr Tuzuk	Mīr Ātish	QarāwalBegī	Qūr Begī	Ākhta Begī	Second Bakhshī	Qaush Begī
1.	Mirzā Abūl Hasan Āṣaf Khān(Vakīl) Lāhorī I(a) 180, 193.	Ṣādiq Khān, Lāhorī I(a) 186	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	"	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	"	"	Khalīlullah Khān, Lāhorī 1(a), 299.	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	"	"	"	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	"	"	"	-	-	Roshan Ẓamīr Ṣalābat Khān, Lāhorī I(a), 417.	-	-	-
6.	"	(Died Lāhorī I(a), 538.	-	Khalīlullah Khān, Lāhorī 1(a), 474.	-	"	-	-	-
7.	"	-	-	"	-	"	-	-	Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī Lāhorī I(b) 16-17.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
8.	"	-	-	"	-	"	-	-	"
9.	"	-	-	"	-	"	-	-	"
10.	"	-	-	"	Khalīlullah Khān, Lāhorī I(b), 242.	"	-	-	"
11.	"	-	-	"	"	"	-	-	"
12.	"	-	-	Zūlfiqār Khān Lāhorī II,154.	Murād Kām Ṣafavī, Lāhorī II, 142-43.	Murād Kām Ṣafavī, Lāhorī II p. 135.	Aṣālat Khān, Lāhorī II,170.	Raushan Ẓamīr Ṣalābat Khān, Lāhorī, II,123, 135.	"
13.	"	Roshan Ẓamīr Ṣalābat Khān Lāhorī,II, 161.	-	"	Khalīl-ullah Khān, Lāhorī,II, 179.	Ṣaf Shikan Khān Ṣafavī, Lāhorī,II, 143.	"	Mīr 'Abdul Hādī, Aṣālat Khān, Lāhorī II, 161.	-

R.Y.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
14.	"	"	-	"	Murād Kām Ṣafavī, Lāhorī II, 204,227.	-	-	"	-
15.	(Died)	"	-	"	"	-	Khalīl-ullah Khān, Lāhorī, II,228.	"	Khalīl-ullah Khān, Lāhorī II,228.
16.	-	"	-	-	"	-	-	"	"
17.	-	"	-	-	-	-	-	"	"
18.	-	ʻAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān, Lāhorī,II, 385.	-	-	-	Khalīl-ullah Khān, M.U.,I, 775	-	Khalīl-ullah Khān, Lāhorī II,385.	Murād Kām Lāhorī II 385.
19.	-	Aṣālat Khān	ʻAbdul Kāfī Nawāzish Khān	-	-	"	-	" Ibid,422	-

R.Y.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
20.	-	"	Mīr Khalīl Khān Zamān, Lāhorī, II, 511.	-	-	"	-	-	-
21.	-	Ja'far Khān, Lāhorī, II, 681.	Nawāzish Khān, Wāriṡ, 60.	-	-	Murād Kam Ṣafavī, Wāriṡ, 3.	-	-	-
22.	-	"	-	-	-	"	-	-	-
23.	-	Khalīlullah Khān, Wāriṡ, 129.	Bahrām S/o Ṣādiq Khān, Ṣāliḥ, III, 99.	-	-	"	-	Khalīl-ullah Khān, Wāriṡ, 99.	-
24.	-	-	Mīr Isḥāq S/o A'ẓam Khān, Wāriṡ I, 134	-	-	-	-	-	-

R.Y.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
25.	-	I'tiqād Khān Mirzā Bahman-yār, Wāriṣ, 176; Ṣaleḥ, III, 141,143.	"	-	-	-	Mīr Isḥāq Irādat Khān, Wāriṣ, 190.	-	-
26.	-	"	-	-	-	-	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān, Wāriṣ, 208	Mīr Isḥāq Irādat Khān, Wāriṣ, 206.	-
27.	-	" Ibid.,173, 175.	-	-	-	-	"	"	-
28.	-	" Ibid.,241.	-	-	-	-	"	-	-
29.	-	" Ibid.,215; M.U.,II, 332-34.	Mīr Mīrān, Wāriṣ,318.	-	-	-	"	-	-

R.Y.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
30.	Ja'far Khān, Wāzir Ṣāliḥ, III, 271.	"	" Ṣāliḥ, III, 266.	-	-	-	"	-	-
31.	"	" Ṣāliḥ, III, 244.	"	-	-	Nawāzish Khān, 'Abdul Kāfī, Wāris, 365-66.	" Ṣāliḥ, III, 244.	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān, Ṣāliḥ III, 244.	-

APPENDIX - B

GOVERNORSHIPS HELD BY THE MEMBERS OF I'TIMĀD-UD-DAULA'S FAMILY UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

Note:- The name of province is given in bracket under the Ṣūbedār.

R.Y.	Total No. of Governors known to be holding the post during the year.	Total No. of Irānis holding the posts.	Number of governorships held by I'timād-ud Daula's family: Nos.	Name					
1.	14	10	5	Qāsim Khān Juwainī (Bengal)	Bāqir Khān Najm Ṣānī (Orissa)	Saif Khān (Bihar)	Āṣaf Khān (Lahore & Multan)	I'tiqād Khān (Kashmir)	
2.	15	11	6	"	"	"	"	"	Aʿẓam Khān (Deccan)
3.	15	11	6	"	"	"	"	"	"
4.	15	10	6	"	"	"	"	"	"
5.	15	8	5	Aʿẓam Khān (Bengal)	Saif Khān (Allahabad)	Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan (Kashmir)	"	—	"

6.	15	7	6	"	"	I'tiqād Khān (Delhi)	Ẕafar Khān (Kashmir)	Bāqir Khān Najm Ṣānī (Gujarat)	"
7.	15	6	4	"	"	"	"		
8.	15	6	4	ʿAẕam Khān (Allahabad)	Saif Khān (Gujarat)	"	"		
9.	15	7	4	" (& Agra)	"	Mīr Khalīl Khān Zamān (Deccan)	"		
10.	15	4	4	Bāqir Khān Najm Sani (Allahabad)	Saif Khān (Agra)	ʿAẕam Khān (Gujarat)	"		
TOTAL:	149	80	50 33.5%						

11.	15	4	3	Saif Khān (Agra)	Ẓafar Khān (Kashmir)	ʿAẓam Khān (Gujarat)	
12.	15	4	3	Shāista Khān (Bihar)	ʿAlī Mardān Khān (Kashmir)	"	
13.	15	6	4	Shāhnawāz Khān (Orissa)	Shāista Khān (Bihar)	ʿAlī Mardān Khān (Lahore & Kashmir)	ʿAẓam Khān (Gujarat)
14.	15	5	4	"	"	ʿAlī Mardān Khān (Kabul)	"
15.	15	6	3	Ẓafar Khān (Kashmir)	"	"	

16.	15	7	4	"	I'tiqād Khān (Bihar)	"	Shāista Khān (Allahabad)			
17.	14	7	4	"	"	"	"			
18.	15	7	4	"	"	"	Shāista Khān (Malwa)			
19.	15	8	5	"	"	"	"	Ja'far Khān (Lahore)		
20.	14	9	7	"	" (Bengal)	"	Shāhnawāz Khān (Malwa)	Shāista Khān (Gujarat)	Ja'far Khān (Lahore)	A'zam Khān (Bihar)
TOTAL:	148	63	41							
			27.0%							

21.	15	6	5	Zafar Khān (Kashmir)	Mirzā Khān (Awadh)	ʿAlī Mardān Khān (Kabul)	Shāista Khān (Gujarat)	Shāhnawāz Khān (Malwa)	
22.	15	7	4	I'tiqād Khān (Awadh)	Abū Saʿīd (Ajmer)	"	Shāista Khān (Malwa)	-	
23.	15	6	6	"	"	ʿAlī Mardān Khān (Kashmir)	Shāista Khān (Deccan)	Shāhnawāz Khān (Malwa)	Ja'far Khān (Delhi)
24.	14	6	5	Khalīl-ullah Khān (Delhi)	"	"	"	"	-
25.	14	6	5	"	"	"	"	"	-
26.	15	6	6	"	Zafar Khān (Sind)	"	Shāista Khān (Gujarat)	Shāhnawāz Khān (Awadh)	Ja'far Khān (Bihar)
27.	13	4	4	-	"	"	Shāista Khān (Malwa)	-	"
28.	13	5	4	-	"	"	"	-	"
29.	13	5	3	-	-	"	"	-	"

30.	13	4	3	Zūlfiqār Khān	-	"	-	-	"
31.	15	6	3	Khalīlullah Khān (Delhi)	-	"	-	-	"
32.	14	4	2	"	-	-	-	-	"
TOTAL:	169	65	50 29.5[illegible]						

APPENDIX - C

I'TIMĀD-UD-DAULA'S RELATIONS HOLDING CENTRAL OFFICES UNDER AURANGZEB.

R.Y.	Wazīr/ Dīwān-i Kul	Mīr Bakhshī	Mīr Ātish	Mīr Sāmān	Mīr Tuzuk	Second Bakhshī	Third Bakhshī	Bakhshī of Ahdīs	Dīwān-i Buyūtāt	Ākhtabegī
1.	Multafat Khan, (Kāẓim, 75) Ja'far Khān, (Kāẓim, 116)	Mīr Khalīl, Khān Zamān (Kāẓim, 47, 51, 75)	-	-	-	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Asad Khān [Dastūr, f. 177(b)]	-	-	-	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān, (Kāẓim, 289, 342)
2.	-	-	-	-	-	" (Kāẓim, 341, 395-96)	-	-	-	"
3.	-	-	-	-	Multafat Khān (Kāẓim, 593)	"	-	Multafat Khān, (Kāẓim, 487)	-	"
4.	-	-	-	-	" (Kāẓim, 642)	" (Kāẓim, 642)	-	"	-	" (Kāẓim, 642)

5.	-	-	-	-	"	" (Kāẓim, 762)	-	"	-	"
6.	Ja'far Khān (Kāẓim, 837, 849; M.A., 46)	-	-	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān, (Kāẓim, 830, 832; M.A., 46)	" (Kāẓim, 851).	" (Kāẓim, 843)	-	Rūḥullah Khān, (Kāẓim, 829)	-	Multafat Khān (Kāẓim, 829-30)
7.	" (Kāẓim, 869).	-	-	"	"	"	-	"	-	"
8.	"	-	-	" (Kāẓim, 880)	"	"	-	"	-	"
9.	"	-	-	"	-	"	-	"	-	-
10.	"	-	-	"	-	"	-	Kāmgār Khān (Kāẓim, 1061).	-	Rūḥullah Khān (Kāẓim, 1061).
11.	"	-	-	"	-	"	-	"	-	-

12.	"	-	-	"	-	"	-	-	-	-
13.	Asad Khān (Dy.) (M.A.,103)	-	-	-	-	-	Rūhullah Khān, [Dastūr, f.177(b)]	-	-	-
14.	"	Asad Khān (M.A.,108)	-	-	-	-	"	-	-	Dārāb Khān, (M.A., 108)
15.	"	" (M.A.119)	-	-	-	-	"	-	-	-
16.	-	"	-	-	-	-	"	-	-	-
17.	-	"	-	-	-	-	"	-	-	-
18.	-	"	Multafat Khān, (M.A.,142)	-	-	-	"	-	-	-
19.	Asad Khān (M.A.,152)	-	Dārāb Khān (M.A.,150)	-	-	-	"	-	-	Rūhullah Khān, (M.A.,150

20.	"	-	"	Rūḥullah Khān (M.A.,156, 160)	Rūḥullah Khān (A.C.), Dārāb Khān, (M.A.157)	-	"	-	-	"
21.	"	-	"	"	"	-	"	-	Kāmgār Khān, (M.A.166)	-
22.	"	-	Rūḥullah Khān, (M.A.176)	-	"	-	"	Bahra-mand Khān (M.A.172); Zūlfiqār Khān, (M.A.176)	"	Rūḥullah Khān (M.A.172) Bahramand Khān (M.A.176)
23.	"	-	Bahramand Khān, (M.A.192-93)	-	-	-	"	"	"	-
24.	"	-	"	-	Bahramand Khān (M.A.205)	Rūḥullah Khān (M.A.195)	-	"	-	-

25.	"	-	-	-	Muhammad Yār Khān (Akhbārāt, 25 R.Y. 15 Oct.1681)	"	Kāmgār Khān (M.A.216)	-	-	-
26.	"	-	-	-	ʿAzīzullah b/o Rūhullah Khān, (M.A.222)	"	"	-	-	-
27.	"	-	-	-	-	"	"	-	-	Kāmgār Khān (M.A.240)
28.	"	-	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	Qamar-uddīn, Mukhtār Khān, (M.A.260)
29.	"	-	-	-	-	Bahramand Khān, (M.A.281).	-	-	-	-

30.	"	Rūhullah Khān (M.A.281).	-	Kāmgār Khān (M.A.297)	Kāmgār Khān (A.C.) (M.A.281).	"	-	-	-	-
31.	"	" (M.A.299)	-	"	-	"	-	-	-	-
32.	"	" (M.A.327)	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	-
33.	"	" (M.A.332)	Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān (M.A.330)	-	-	"	-	-	-	-
34.	"	"	"	-	-	"	-	-	-	-
35.	Bahramand Khān, Dy. of Asad Khān.	" (M.A.344)	" (M.A. 340)	-	-	"	-	-	-	-
36.	Asad Khan [Ma'mūrī, f.185(a)]	Bahramand Khān (M.A.349)	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

37.	" (M.A.364)	" (M.A.355)	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
38.	"	" (M.A.369)	Khānazād Khān, Rūhullah Khān II, (M.A.370)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
39.	"	" (M.A.374)	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
40.	"	"	Tarbiyat Khān, Muhammad Khalīl (Akhbārāt, 40 R.Y., 15 April, 1696)	-	Tarbiyat Khān, (Akhbārāt, 1 May 1696)	-	-	Khudā Banda Khān (M.A. 382)	-	-
41.	" (M.A.392)	"	"	Khāna-zād Khān, Rūhu-llah Khān II (M.A. 386, 392)	-	-	-	"	Khudā Banda Khān (M.A. 386)	-

42.	"	" (M.A. 393)	" (M.A. 395-96)	" (M.A. 396)	-	-	-	"	"	-
43.	"	" (Akhbārāt, 11 Sept., 16 Nov. 1699)	" (M.A., 406)	"	-	-	-	"	"	-
44.	"	" (Akhbārāt, 28 July, 1700)	"	"	-	Rūḥullah Khān II, (M.A. 434)	-	-	-	-
45.	"	" (M.A., 443)	" (M.A. 441)	"	-	"	-	-	-	-
46.	"	Zūlfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang, (M.A. 461)	" (M.A. 460)	"	-	" (M.A. 457)	-	-	-	-
47.	"	"	"	"	-	" (M.A. 472)	-	-	-	-

48.	"	"	" (M.A.485)	Khudā Banda Khān (M.A.489)	-	-	Mirzā Ṣafavī Khān, 'Alī Naqī (M.A.497)	-	-	-
49.	"	" (M.A.496, 502)	" (M.A.497)	"	-	-	"	-	-	-
50.	"	"	" (M.A.505)	" (M.A.514)	-	-	" (M.A.513)	-	-	-
51.	"	"	"	"	-	-	" (Akhbārāt, 51 R.Y., 26 Jan., 1707)	-	-	-

Appendix-D

Governorships held by the members of I'timā-ud Daula's family

During Aurangzeb's Reign

Nos.									
5.	Shāista Khān (Agra)	Mīr Isḥāq Irādat Khān (Awadh)	Khalīlullah Khān (Lahore)	Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī (Gujarat)	Ja'far Khān (Malwa)	-	-	-	-
3.	-	-	"	-	"	Shāista Khān (Deccan)	-	-	-
5.	-	Murād Kām Ṣafavī, Mukarram Khān (Awadh)	"	-	"	"	-	Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg (Kashmir)	-
6.	-	"	"	Mīr Khalīl, Khān-i Zamān (Bedar)	"	"	-	"	-
6.	-	"	Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg (Lahore)	"	"	"	-	Hoshdār Khān (Delhi)	-
6.	Hoshdār Khān (Agra)	"	"	"	"	-	-	-	Shāista Khān (Bengal)
5.	"	"	"	"	-	-	-	-	"
5.	"	"	"	" (Aurangabad)	-	-	-	-	"
5.	"	-	"	" (Khāndesh)	Irij Khān (Berar)	-	-	-	"
4.	"	-	"	"	-	-	-	-	"
4.	"	-	-	Mukhtār Khān Mīr Shamsuddīn (Khāndesh)	-	Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg (Bihar)	-	-	"
4.	"	Amīr Khān, Mīr Mīrān (Ilahabad)	-	-	-	"	-	--	"
5.	"	"	-	-	--	"	-	Nāmdār Khān (Delhi)	"
7.	Nāmdār Khān	"	-	Mukhtār Khān, Shamsuddin (Bedar)	Hoshdār Khān (Khāndesh)	"	Sulṭān Husain Iftikhār Khān (Kashmir)	-	"
6.	-	Amīr Khān, Mīr Mīrān (Malwa)	-	"	Mukhtār Khān, Shamsuddin	"	"	-	"
4.	-	-	-	-	"	"	"	-	"

APPENDIX D Contd...

7	4	-	-	-	-	Mukhtār Khān, Shamsuddīn (Khāndesh)	" Amīr Khān, Mīr Mīrān	Sultān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān (Kashmir)	-	Shāista Khān (Bengal)
8	6	Nāmdār Khān (Awadh)	-	-	Mīr Khalīl Khān-i Zamān (Berar)	"	"	"	-	"
9	5	"	-	-	"	"	-	-	Shāista Khān (Orissa)	"
0	4	"	-	-	" (Bedar)	"	Amīr Khān, Mīr Mīrān (Kabul)	-	-	-
1	4	Shāista Khān (Agra)	Sultān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān (Ajmer)	—	-	-	"	Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg (Kashmir)	-	-
2	6	-	-	-	Mukhtār Khān Shamshuddin (Malwa)	Khānazād Khān (Sind)	"	"	Shāista Khān (Orissa)	Shāista Khān (Bengal)
3	6	-	-	-	"	"	"	"	"	"
4	7	-	Irij Khān; Mīr Khalīl Khān Zamān (Khāndesh)	-	"	"	"	"	"	"
5	8	Mukhtār Khān, Shamsuddīn (Gujarat)	"	-	" Muftakhar Khān, Khān-i Zamān	"	"	"	"	"
6	8	"	Mukhtār Khān Shamsuddin (Bedar)	-	"	"	"	"	"	"
7	7	"	-	-	"	"	"	"	"	"
8	6	-	Irij Khān (Berar)	-	Mīr Khalīl, Khān-i Zamān (Khāndesh)	-	"	"	"	"
9	4	-	"	-	-	-	"	-	"	"
0	4	Mīr Mohd. Ḥasan Rūḥullah Khān II (Bijapur)	-	-	-	-	"	-	"	"

contd..

APPENDIX D Contd..

3	-	-	-	-	-	Amīr Khān, Mīr Mīrān (Kabul)	-	Abū Naṣr Khān (Orissa)	Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg (Bengal)
3	-	-	-	-	-	"	-	"	"
5	-	Kāmgār Khān (Awadh)	-	-	Abū Naṣr Khān (Sindh)	"	-	"	"
4	-	-	-	-	"	"	-	"	"
3	-	-	-	-	-	"	-	"	"
7	Itiqād Khān (Agra)	Buzurg Umed Khān (Ilahabad)	-	Jānsipār Khān (Golconda)	-	"	Abū Naṣr Khān (Kashmir)	"	"
8	" Shāista Khān	Khudā Banda Khān (Awadh)	-	Mukhtār Khān Qamruddīn (Bihar)	Dīndār Marahmat Khān (Khāndesh)	"	"	" Kāmgār Khān	"
6	" Mukhtār Khān	-	-	-	"	"	"	"	"
6	-	Mīr Khalīl, Tarbiyat Khān (Ajmer)	-	-	Mukhtār Khān Qamaruddīn (Malwa)	"	"	Khānazād Khān Rūhullah Khān II (Bedar)	"
8	Itiqād Khān (Agra)	Muhammad Yār Khān (Delhi)	-	Rustam Dil Khān (Golconda)	"	"	"	"	"
6	"	"	-	Ibrāhīm Khān (Ilahabad)	"	"	Abū Naṣr Khān (Lahore)	-	-
6	"	"	Mohd. Khalīl Zabardast Khān (Awadh)	"	"	Jānsipār Khān (Golconda)	-	-	-
6	"	"	-	-	"	"	Ibrāhīm Khān (Lahore)	Mohd. Khalīl Zabardast Khān (Orissa)	-
7	"	"	Mohd. Khalīl Zabardast Khān (Awadh)	-	"	"	Khudā Banda Khān (Bedar)	Khudā Banda Khān (Berar)	-
7	"	"	"	Ibrāhīm Khān (Kashmir)	" Abū Naṣr, Shāista Khān II	" Rustam Dil Khān (Dy.)	"	-	-

contd..

APPENDIX D Contd..

6.	6	Mukhtār Khān, Qamaruddin (Agra)	"	Mohd. Khalīl Zabardast Khān (Lahore) (Dy.)	Ibrāhīm Khān (Kashmir)	Abū Naṣr, Shāista Khān II (Malwa)	-	Khudā Banda Khān (Bedar)	-	-
7.	7	"	"	"	"	"	Kāmgār Khān (Orissa)	"	-	-
8.	5	"	"	"	"	-	"	-	-	-
9.	6	"	"	Zabardast Khān Mohd. Khalīl (Ajmer)	"	Abū Naṣr Khān, (Awadh)	Rustam Dil Khān (Golconda) (Dy.)	-	-	-
0.	5	"	"	"	-	"	Ibrāhīm Khān (Gujarat)	-	-	-
1.	5	"	"	"	-	"	"	-	-	-

APPENDIX E(i)

Table Showing Position of I'timād-ud Daula's Family as Mansabdār under Shāhjahān

	FIRST DECADE 1627-1637		SECOND DECADE 1637-1647		THIRD DECADE 1647-1658	
	Zāt	Sawār	Zāt	Sawār	Zāt	Sawār
A Total Mansabs	4,54,500	3,63,550	4,67,000	3,80,800	4,97,500	3,72,950
B Mansabs held by members of I'timād-ud Daula's family	68,000	63,300	70,500	60,350	83,000	75,600
B as % of A	14.96%	17.41%	15.08%	15.84%	16.68%	20.27%

APPENDIX E(ii)

Table Showing Position of I'timād-ud Daula's Family

as Mansabdār under Aurangzeb

	FIRST PHASE 1658-1678		SECOND PHASE 1679-1707	
	Zāt	Sawār	Zāt	Sawār
A. Total Mansabs	6,85,000	4,39,850	9,69,000	6,30,100
B. Mansabs held by Members of I'timād-ud Daula's family	90,500	70,700	65,500	49,700
B as % of A	13.22%	16.07%	6.75 %	7.88%

II. ʿALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN'S FAMILY

The stream of immigration to augment the ranks of the Mughal nobility continued under Shāhjahān. Unlike the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr, it would seem that immigration from Irān during Shāhjahān's time was generally of individuals and not of whole families or establishments.[1] The only exception is offered by ʿAlī Mardān Khān who came along with his family and a large retinue of officers and companions in 1638, having made over Qandahār to Shāhjahān[2]. He became the highest Irānian noble of Shāhjahān, and therefore deserves a detailed biographical notice on that account alone.

ʿAlī Mardān Khān was a Kurd of the Zīg[3] tribe and belonged to a well reputed aristocratic family. His father Ganj ʿAlī Khān Zīg was a close confidential officer of Shāh ʿAbbās I and had served him in Herāt since his childhood. During Shāh ʿAbbās' reign he was entrusted with important offices like Qilʿadār of Salāmah in Khawāf, governor (hākim) of Kirmān and Sīstān.[4] In the 36th R.Y.

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1. See Chapter Two.

2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 27-28, 34, 50-52.

3. AAA, II, p.1041. Zīg is a Kurdish tribe who lived in the mountains of Giluyah. Farhang-i Rashīdī, vol. I, p. 377 and Shams-ul Lughāt, p. 404.

4. AAA, I, pp. 414, 559, 576.

(1031 A.H.) he was entrusted with the government (Iyālat-wa-Dārāī) of Qandahār, the most crucial province of the time and where apparently very trusted and experienced generals were appointed.[1] Ganj ʿAlī Khān held Qandahār until he died in 1034 A.H. (1624 A.D.) and performed valuable services for his master in beating back the Uzbeks in Khurāsān. Shāh ʿAbbās I conferred on him the title of Khān and called him Arjumand Bābāʾī (my reverend father).[2]

Ganj ʿAlī Khān's two other children are also known to us. One Shāhrukh Beg, apparently a military officer died of an accident while riding during a campaign near Garjistān (in Irān).[3] The second was a daughter whose son Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg came with ʿAlī Mardān Khān, his maternal uncle as well as father-in-law.[4]

It appears that being the only surviving son of a person who had enjoyed fatherly regard from the Shāh of Irān and held highly responsible posts in the government, ʿAlī Mardān Khān succeeded in winning the

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1. A.A.A.II, pp. 977-78.
2. Ibid, p. 1041.
3. Ibid, pp. 884-85.
4. Lāhorī, II, pp. 124, 159, 177, 412; MU, I, 591-92.

Shāh's favours and succeeded his father as the governor of Qandahār with the same symbols of respect and titles of Khān and Bābā-i Ṣānī (the second father).[1] But this bred jealousy among other nobles, and their hostility reached its culmination during the reign of Shāh Ṣafī. They exploited the defensive preparations made by ʿAlī Mardān Khān at Qandahār which he began actually in order to check Mughal intrusions. He had already strongly rejected Shāhjahān's secret proposal of handing over Qandahār to the Mughals in return of highest possible rank and rewards in the Mughal empire.[2]

Shāh Ṣafī sent reinforcements to Qandahār and at the same time, at the instigation of those nobles, preferred a charge of embezzlement against ʿAlī Mardān Khān[3]. The latter comprehending the real intentions of the Shāh now accepted Shāhjahān's proposal and fled to his court where he was well received and granted the rank of 5000/5000. His rank was soon increased to 6000/6000, and he was also appointed ṣūbedār of Kashmir.[4]

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1. AAA, II, pp. 1041, 1086; Lāhorī, II, p. 27; Ṣādiq Khān, ff. 44(b)-45(a).

2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 27-34; Ṣādiq Khān, ff. 45(a)-(b); Z.Kh., III, p. 28.

3. Bernier says that ʿAlī Mardān Khān was recalled from Qandahār to give the account of his government, Cf. Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 184.

4. Lāhorī, II, pp. 92, 123-24, 125-26.

A distinction was always made in the Mughal Empire between those immigrants who came with some administrative background and experience in civil and political matters and those without it; and the former were generally awarded higher ranks and offices[1]. Accordingly 'Alī Mardān Khān and some of his companions were awarded high ranks. 'Alī Mardān Khān was granted the highest rank of 7000/7000 (5000x2-3h) and the title of Amīr-ul Umarā' and Yār-i Wafādār.[2] His total salary amounted to 12 karor dāms the highest salary ever received by any noble after Āṣaf Khān.[3] It is also significant that throughout his life 'Alī Mardān Khān held one or the other of the three contiguous provinces of Kashmir, Lahore and Kabul, the most strategic territories in the north-west of the empire.[4] Moreover, being in the vicinity of Qandahār, on the one hand, and Balkh and Badakhshān, on the other, Kabul always needed not only an experienced general but also a person well acquainted with the region; and 'Alī Mardān Khān's longest stay at Kabul[5] tends to suggest that he had the full confidence of Shāhjahān, who was faced with the hostility of both Persian and the Uzbeks .

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1. See ante, Chapter Two.
2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 222, 320-21, 497-98; Z.Kh. III, p.28.
3. Ibid. pp. 320-21; Waris, p.135.
4. M. Athar Ali's article op.cit., in Medieval India - A Miscellany, III, pp. 94, 99-100.
5. Ibid.

During his governorship of Kabul ʿAlī Mardān Khān was sent against the Uzbeks. In the 18th R.Y. (1645) he sent his confidential servants Farhād and Farīdūn against Tardī ʿAlī Qatghan[1], who, after a short engagement, took to flight. In 1646 he was sent along with Prince Murād Bakhsh, against the Uzbeks and to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. At this time Sulṭān Khusrau, Bahrām Sulṭān and Subḥān Qulī Sulṭān, three sons of Nazar Muḥammad Khān came and paid homage to Prince Murād while Nazar Muḥammad Khān fled to Persia.[2] However, Murād Bakhsh, in spite of Shāhjahān's prohibition, returned to India for which the prince was censured and Saʿadullah Khān was sent to Balkh. It would seem that normally ʿAlī Mardān Khān would have been asked to take over charge of Balkh, but his being an Irānī and so a suspected Shīʿa made this impolitic. As Lāhorī tells us, "Although servants of this faith-protecting court, whether Irānīs and others, are in obedience to and following the Emperor, firm in upholding true beliefs abstain from the false beliefs of the deviating and the self-serving, yet as the long standing hostility between the Uzbeks and

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1. Tardī ʿAlī Qatghan was the guardian of Subḥān Qulī Khān the son of Nazar Muḥammad Khān and the governor of Kahmard and its neighbourhood. See Lāhorī, II, pp. 401-404, 456-63.

2. Ibid., , pp. 482-92; 512-43; 548-56.

Qizil-bashes, owing to religious differences, had reached such a state that reconciliation and friendship is on no account possible, the Emperor did not find it advisable to appoint ʿAlī Mardān Khān as governor of the ṣūba Balkh in spite of his joining the Sunnī sect upon entering the service of this court. Because of the inopportune act of Prince Murād Bakhsh and some others of the victorious army, large numbers of the Almāns, having ventured to cross the Oxus River, had ravaged some parts of Badakhshān and other places. Therefore, the Emperor ordered that after ʿAllāmī's (Saʿad ullah Khān's) arrival at Balkh, ʿAlī Mardān Khān should proceed to Qunduz and address himself to deal with the Almāns, and having slaughtered a number, force them to retire accross the Oxus. Since the Governor of Badakhshān had to stay in Balkh for some time for organising his affairs and his escorts. ʿAlī Mardān Khān was to stay in Qunduz till his arrival. After the said Governor reached Badakhshān, ʿAlī Mardān Khān should proceed to ṣūba Kabul of which he was Governor".[1]

When Aurangzeb was sent to take charge of Balkh and Badakhshān ʿAlī Murdān Khān was again sent there.[2] At this time he had an encounter in Timūrābād, with ʿAbdul ʿAzīz, the eldest son of Nazar Muḥammad Khān and

1. Lāhorī ,II, p.68.

2. Ibid. , p. 633.

the governor of Bukhārā. 'Alī Mardān Khān defeated Beg Oghlī and Qutlugh Muḥammad Sulṭān and Yādgār Tukariya one after the other in a battle that continued for seven days in which the Uzbek army sustained great losses.[1] Afterwards when Balkh and Badakhshān were restored to Nazar Muḥammad, 'Alī Mardān Khān came back to Kabul. After some time he was allowed to go to Kashmir, where the climate was more suitable for him.[2]

When Prince Dārā Shukoh was appointed to lead an expedition to Qandahār and the province of Kabul was assigned to his eldest son Sulaimān Shukoh in 1653 'Alī Mardān Khān was again posted there. Thereafter he again went to Kashmir. It was during this time that he was summoned to court towards the close of 1656. He had an attack of dysentry and in the beginning of the 31st R.Y. (1657) while returning to Kashmir he died at Machhiwara (on 16th April, 1657). He was burried in his mother's tomb at Lahore.[3]

After 'Alī Mardān Khān's death his property and effects to the amount of one crore of rupees in cash

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1. Lāhorī, II,p.686-709.
2. Wāriṣ, pp. 131, 138, 140.
3. Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 246.

and kind were taken into the Imperial Treasury. But afterwards, out of this amount only 50 lacs of rupees were retained in the treasury; and of the balance 30 lacs of rupees were allowed to Ibrāhīm Khān and the remaining 20 lacs were distributed among the three sons and ten daughters.[1]

Among ʿAlī Mardān Khān's sons, the eldest Muḥammad ʿAlī was left in Irān as hostage with Shāh Ṣafī. Shāhjahān sent a letter to Shāh Ṣafī's successor Shāh ʿAbbās II to secure his release.[2] But it is not known whether he was ever sent to India. Of the remaining four sons, ʿAbdullah Beg and Ibrāhīm Beg flourished during the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. Ismaʿīl Beg and Isḥāq Beg both reached only the ranks of 1,500/800 and died in the battle of Samugarh.[3]

The person in this family who attained the highest position under Aurangzeb was Ibrāhīm Khān. He surpassed all of his kinsmen in terms of manṣabs and offices. Under Shāhjahān he had been promoted to the rank of 4000/3000[4] but was not entrusted with any independent

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1. Ṣāliḥ, III, pp.247-48.
2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 497-98.
3. Ibid., p. 246; M.U., II, p. 807.
4. M.U. I(a), p. 295.

assignment. It was during the reign of Aurangzeb that as a reward of his valuable services in the war of succession, he was given rapid promotions and was raised to the rank of 6000/6000.[1] He remained _ṣūbedār_ of various provinces one after the other except for a short interval of about four years during his entire term of fortyeight years' service under Aurangzeb. It is also significant that during this period he was appointed _ṣūbedār_ of Kashmir thrice.[2] He got a fourth tenure there during Bahādur Shāh I's reign. He died at Ibrāhīmābād Sodhra in Lahore in 1709.[3]

During his viceroyalty of Bengal (1690-99) his son Zabardast Khān was _faujdār_ of the _chaklas_ of Burdwan, Jessore, Midnapur and Hugli and he defeated the self-styled king Raḥīm Shāh, a rebel Afghān of the region.[4] In 1700 he was appointed _ṣūbedār_ of Awadh and promoted to the rank of 3000/2500.[5] In 1705 he was appointed _ṣūbedār_ of Ajmer, being transferred from the _faujdārī_ of Lakhi jungle.[6]

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1. _M.A._, p. 493; _M.U._, I(a), p. 299.

2. Kāẓim, pp. 426-27; _M.A._, p. 236; _M.U._ I(a), pp.298-99; also see M. Athar Ali's article _op. cit._, in _Medieval India - A Miscellany_, I, pp. 63-100.

3. _M.U._, I(a), p. 300.

4. Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm, _Riyāẓ-us Salāṭīn_, (Eng. trans.) Abdus Salam, Delhi, Reprint, 1975, pp. 234-35.

5. _M.A._, p. 397; _M.U._, I(a), p.300.

6. _Ibid._, pp. 496-97; _Ibid_.

Ibrāhīm Khān's second son Ya'qūb Khān was deputed with him to Bengal and when he was transferred to Allahabad, Ya'qūb Khān was also transferred being appointed as faujdār of Jaunpur.[1] In the reign of Bahādur Shāh I he was granted the title of Ibrāhīm Khān and was appointed deputy ṣūbedār of Lahore under Āṣaf-ud Daula.[2]

Fidā'ī Khān, a third son of Ibrāhīm Khān is mentioned for the first time in the Ma'āṣir-i 'Ālamgīrī being deputed in 1684 along with his father to Kashmir. There he was engaged in a campaign against Tibet.[3]

Besides 'Alī Mardān Khān's family a large retinue of his trusted slaves and officers accompanied him and each one of them was awarded with a suitable rank and office according to his experience.[4] Among them the most prominent were Murshid Qulī Khān (the famous dīwān of the Deccan), Ḥussain Beg Khān Zīg and 'Alī Beg Sulṭān.[5]

Ḥussain Beg Khān, 'Alī Mardān's son-in-law, was separated from him and appointed Ākhtabegī (master of horse) in 1646 - a post which was granted to only very trusted nobles.[6] In 1648 he was appointed ṣūbedār of

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1. M.A., p. 387.
2. M.U., I(a), pp. 300-301.
3. M.A., p. 236.
4. Lāhorī, II, p. 124.
5. Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg and 'Alī Beg Sulṭān were his sons-in-law also.
6. Lāhorī, II, p.492; Wāriṣ, p.36; Ṣāliḥ, II, pp. 434, 468; M.U., I(b), p.592.

Kashmir with the title of 'Khān'.[1] In 1654 he was made faujdār of Miyān-i Doāb[2] and in 1658 the Mīr-i Tuzuk.[3] In the battle of Samugarh he was a partisan of Dārā Shukoh and was in charge of the royal artillery. But after Dārā Shukoh's flight he joined Aurangzeb and was appointed faujdār of Bangash in 1659.[4] Here he remained till 1675 and was then transferred as faujdār to Jaunpur where he died in 1676.[5] Of his sons Mirzā ʿAtāullah had a rank of 700 zāt and Muḥammad Amān was deputy ṣūbedār of Kabul and held the title of Nāṣir Khān.[6] In 1703 he was removed from the office and his rank was reduced as punishment for certain offences.[7] Another son-in-law of ʿAlī Mardān Khān, ʿAlī Beg Sulṭān was appointed deputy ṣūbedār of Kashmir soon after his arrival from Irān in 1638 and received a rank of 2000 zāt.[8]

Among the servants of ʿAlī Mardān Khān who came along with him it was only Murshid Qulī Khān who, on

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1. Wāriṣ, p.36; Ṣāliḥ, III, p.23; M.U., I(b), p.592.
2. Ibid., p.266; Ibid, p. 237; Ibid.
3. Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 266; M.U., I(b), p.592.
4. Kāẓim, p. 218; Ibid., p. 593.
5. M.A., p.140; Ibid.
6. M.U., I(b), p.593.
7. M.A., p.439; Cf. M.U., III, pp. 833-35, where he is mentioned as ṣūbedār of Kabul and not having been punished for any offence.
8. Lāhorī, II, pp.170, 190-91; Ṣādiq Khān, f. 49(b).

account of his personal experience and ability, could attain the rank of 3000/1,500 and the office of Dīwān towards the close of Shāhjahān's reign in 1658.[1] He had also been previously appointed as dīwān of the Punjab and Multan, Mīr-i Ātish, superintendent of elephant stables, faujdār of Kangrah foot hills, Ākhtabegī (master of the horse) and dīwān of the Deccan by Shāhjahān.[2]

In India ʿAlī Mardān Khān established marriage relations with well reputed Irānian families. His son Ibrāhīm Khān married the daughter of Yaḥyā, a son of Saif Khān.[3] Besides his two daughters who had been already married to Ḥussain Beg Khān and ʿAlī Beg Sulṭān respectively, he had two more daughters.[4] One of them Ṣāḥibjī was married to Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān, the son of Khalīlullah Khān Yazdī, a well-known family of Jahāngīr's time.[5] The other daughter was married to Zāhid Khān Koka's son Faiẓullah Khān,[6] whose grand-daughter was married again in the family of ʿInāyatullah Khān Kashmīrī, an important noble of Aurangzeb.[7]

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1. Kāẓim, pp. 44, 54.

2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 177, 230, 331, 362, 471, 688; Wāriṣ, pp. 67, 192, 235, 307-8; also Cf. Ṣādiq Khān, ff. 86(b), 90(b).

3. Wāriṣ, p.257.

4. Ṣāliḥ, III, p.248.

5. Tuzuk, p.150; M.U., III, pp.335-42. See section (V) infr

6. Wāriṣ, p.295, Zāhid Khān Koka's mother Ḥūrī Khānam nursed Princess Jahān Ārā, the eldest daughter of Shāhjahān. See M.U., II, pp.370-72, vol. III, pp.28-30

7. M.A., pp.479-80. For ʿInāyat ullah Khān's biography see M.U., II, pp.828-32.

It is worth mentioning that Ṣāḥibjī herself was a competent lady so much so that she ran the administration of Kabul on her husband's behalf when he died without leaving an heir. She controlled the rebellious Afghāns in the province to Aurangzeb's satisfaction till the arrival of the new governor.[1]

As far as manṣabs, held by the family, are concerned certain interesting facts emerge from our information. During the entire reign of Shāhjahān it appears that many members of ʿAlī Mardān Khān's family and his companions were granted manṣabs, and some of them were very rapidly promoted. But none of his sons, even ʿAbdullah Beg and Ibrāhīm Beg, who held the ranks of 2,500/1,500 and 4000/3000 respectively in 1658, was assigned any independent office. They are generally found to be deputed with their father or at the most as auxiliaries in expeditions. The only exception is offered by Ḥusain Beg Khān being appointed Ākhtabegī, Mīr-i-Tuzuk and ṣūbedār of Kashmir and other offices.[2]

As regards ʿAlī Mardān Khān's personal promotions and his successive appointments, it appears that he was

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1. M.U. I(a), pp. 284-85, 286-87.

2. Lāhorī, II, p.49; Wāriṣ, p.36; Ṣāliḥ, III, p.266.

promised the highest possible rank and office as a reward of making over Qandahār to Shāhjahān. This was inspite of his being vulnerable to suspicion, being a recent defector.[1] The granting of the manṣab of 4000/3000 to Ibrāhīm Khān apparently seems to be out of consideration for the fact that he was the eldest and most favourite son of ʿAlī Mardān Khān. It was he alone who under Aurangzeb also was promoted to 6000/6000; his son Muḥammad Khalīl Zabardast Khān too obtained a rank of 3,500/3,500.[2] Thus the line of the main promotions descended through Ibrāhīm Khān.

The total ranks held by the family during the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb was 23,700/13,700 (500x2-3h) and 17,700/14,100 (500x2-3h) respectively.

Besides being a military commander and a civil administrator ʿAlī Mardān Khān was a great builder. The laying out of a number of gardens, sarāis and residential buildings in Kashmir and Lahore are attributed to him.

His buildings can broadly be classified into two types-private buildings such as personal mansions

1. There was always an apprehension among the Irānī nobles of Shāhjahān that ʿAlī Mardān Khān could not be loyal servant. See Z.Kh., III, pp. 28-9.

2. M.A., pp. 496-97.

(ḥavelīs) in Kashmir[1] and Peshawar and his own tomb at Lahore; and public works like canals, gardens and sarāis. Construction of sarāis in Kashmir was felt to be necessary by Shāhjahān owing to the obstructions of roads by heavy rain and snowfall during winter. Hence, sarāis at every stage (manzil) were constructed under the supervision of ʿAlī Mardān Khān in order to provide places of refuge to travellers. In 1639 Naqdī Beg, an employee and apparently an architect of ʿAlī Mardān Khān, was given the charge of repairing and widening roads through Kashmir[2]. Similarly, in 1646 when ʿAlī Mardān Khān was ṣūbedār of Kabul the work was undertaken to clean and level the hilly routes in Peshawar.[3] As many as seven sarāis are known to have been constructed by ʿAlī Mardān Khān and the Hīrāpur road was repaired and developed in Kashmir during his governorship there.[4]

ʿAlī Mardān Khān also constructed a number of gardens both in Kashmir and Lahore. The ʿAlīābād garden

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1. Pīr Ghulām Hasan Khūihāmī, Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan, Srinagar, 1954, Vol. I, p.299. The Ḥaveli was built of stone and furnished with fountains and springs. At Peshawar his ḥavelī was constructed after the Irānian fashion which did not appeal to Shāhjahān. Lāhorī, II, p.504; Ṣādiq Khān, f.63(a).
2. Lāhorī. II, pp. 169-70.
3. Ṣādiq Khān, f. 63(a).
4. Tārīkh-i Ḥasan, II, p.507. These were Sarāi Khāmpur; Sarāi Shājahmarg; Sarāi Bahrām Galla; Sarāi Hīrāpur; Sarāi Poshāna; Sarāi Sokhta and Sarāi Thanna.

at village Til Bal in Kashmir was constructed in 1654. This has beautiful buildings, strong walls, a large canal and a big pond with springs and fountains.[1] At Lahore the Naulakhā and the Shālāmār gardens became important picnic resorts and particularly the latter had been a place of attraction for Irānīs, Tūrānīs and people from other parts of the world.[2] The Shālāmār was in fact a combination of seven gardens such as Angūrī Bāgh, ʿInāyat Bāgh, Faiẓ Bakhsh, Ḥayāt Bakhsh, Faraḥ Bakhsh, Mahtābī Bāgh and Gulābī Bāgh. The plan of the whole garden was laid out in such a way that all the seven gardens were at a sloping ground having a large pond on the highest level. The water fell in short waterfalls through the first garden to reach the lowest level of the garden.[3] Towards the south of the garden there was a stone Ḥammām being divided into three parts the first and the second parts had two fountains; and the third had a tank and a bathroom with facilities of cold and hot water.[4] Sujān Rāi tells us that "ʿAlī Mardān Khān

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1. Tārīkh-i Ḥasan, I, p.300.

2. Ṣādiq Khān, f.56(a). A garden 'Ganj ʿAlī Khān Bāgh' in Qandahār named after his father suggests that construction of gardens had been a practice in his family. See Wāriṡ, pp. 79-85.

3. Kanhiya Lal, Tārīkh-i Lāhore, Victoria Press Lahore, 1884, pp. 257, 354-59, 362-63; Cf. Muḥammad Bāqir, Lahore-Past and Present, Punjab University Press, Lahore, 1952, p.304.

4. Tārīkh-i Lāhore, pp. 357-58.

renamed Sodhara (a town in the sarkār of Lahore) on the bank of river Chenab, as Ibrāhīmābād after the name of his son Ibrāhīm Khān. He laid out a garden (in Ibrāhīmābād) which could be favourably compared with Shālāmār garden. He also constructed a number of beautiful buildings there. Six lacs of rupees were spent on the construction of buildings, garden and on digging of a canal to provide water to the garden. One village out of the villages of Sodhara was granted to ʿAlī Mardān as altamghā for the up-keep of the garden and the city".[1]

The most important work undertaken by ʿAlī Mardān Khān was the construction of a projected canal designed to bring water to Lahore from the hills at Rajpur near Nurpur, to the length of some 48½ kurohs. The work was undertaken in 1639 to bring the water for the irrigation of land and Shālāmār garden then being laid out by Khalīlullah Khān and also to provide abundance of water to the citizens of Lahore.[2] The emperor advanced one lakh of rupees for the project but when in the 16th R.Y. the canal was completed it was

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1. Sujān Rāi Bhandārī, Khulāṣat-ut Tawārīkh, ed. Ẓafar Ḥasan, Delhi, 1918, p.74.

2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 168-69, 233-34, 311-12, 315; Ṣādiq Khān, ff. 50(b); 56(a); Z. Kh., III, p.28.

found that water could not reach the city. Another one lakh of rupees was advanced and Mulla ʿAlāʾul Mulk Tūnī Fāẓil Khān was assigned the project. He used only five kurohs length of ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal and excavated a new length of 32 kurohs, so as to bring water finally to Lahore.[1]

ʿAlī Mardān Khān built a market complex in Peshāwar during his governorship. It was a roofed four-laned bāzār. When Shāhjahān visited the market he was so much impressed that he desired to send the same plan to Mukaramat Khān the officer-in-charge of Delhi fort under construction at that time to help him construct a market there on the same pattern.[2]

Significantly enough ʿAlī Mardān Khān is found to have been maintaining some kārkhānas in Lahore and Kashmir where goods such as carpets and shawls were manufactured. In the 30th R.Y. of Shāhjahān (1657 A.D.) on the occasion of the emperor's lunar weighing ceremony ʿAlī Mardān Khān sent to the emperor fine merchandise including woolen carpets and shawls produced in his workshops.[3]

1. Lāhorī, II, pp. 233, 315; Ṣādiq Khān, f.56(a).
2. Ibid, p.504; Ibid., f.63(a). It also suggests that ʿAli Mardān Khān was fond of adopting different architectural styles in his buildings.
3. Wāriṣ, p.373.

APPENDIX

Genealogical Chart of ʿAlī Mardān Khān's Family

- 1 Ganj ʿAlī Khān Zīg
  - 2 ʿAlī Mardān Khān
    - 5 Muḥammad ʿAlī (Hostage in Irān)
    - 6 Ibrāhīm Beg = d/o Yahyā s/o Saif Khān
      - 15 Muḥammad Khalīl Zabardast Khān
        - 21 Ṣadr-ud Dīn Muḥammad Khān
      - 16 Yaʿqūb Khān (Ibrāhīm Khān)
      - 17 Fidāī Khān
    - 7 ʿAbdullah Beg (Ganj ʿAlī Khān)
    - 8 Ismaʿīl Beg
    - 9 Isḥāq Beg
    - 10 Daughter = Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg (14)
      - 18 Mirzā ʿAṭāullah
      - 19 Mirzā Amān Nāṣir Khān
        - 22 Naṣīrī Khān
    - 11 Daughter = ʿAlī Beg Sulṭān
    - 12 Ṣāḥibjī = Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān
    - 13 Daughter = Faiẓullah Khā s/o Zāhi Khān Kok
      - 20 Muḥammad Afẓal
        - 23 Daughter = Hidāytullah Sa'adullah Khān S/o ʿInāyat ullah Khān
  - 3 Shāh Rukh Beg (died in Irān 1023/24 A.H.)
  - 4 Daughter
    - 14 Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg = d/o ʿAlī Mardān Khān (10)

References to the Genealogical Chart

Numbers prefacing names of Persons in the Chart	Sources
1:2	A.A.A., I, 414, 559.
1:3	A.A.A., I, 884-85.
1:4; 4:14 S/L 2	Lāhorī II, 124, 159, 177, 412; M.U. I, 591-92.
2:5	Lāhorī, II, 497-98.
2:6+7+8+9	Lāhorī, II, 246; M.U. I, 295; II, 807.
2:6; 6 = d/o Yaḥyá S/o Saif Khān	Wāriṣ, 257.
2:11; 11 = ʿAlī Beg Sulṭān S/L 2	Lāhorī, II, 170, 190-91.
2:12; 12 = Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	Tuzuk, 150; M.U. III, 335-42.
2:13; 13 = Faiẓullah Khān	Wāriṣ, 295.
Faiẓullah Khān : 20:23 = Hidāyatullah	M.A., 479.
6:15+16	M.A. 387, 397; M.U. I, 300; T.M. 32.
6 : 17	M.A., 236.
14 : 18 + 19	M.U., I, 593.
15 : 21	T.M., 107.
19 : 22	M.U., III, 833-35.

III. Khawāfīs and Mámūrīs

The Khawāfīs

Khawāfī means "coming from Khawāf", which is a district and town in Khurāsān in eastern Persia.[1] It lies between the district of Bākharz to the north and that of Qāin to the south-west, adjacent to the modern Irān-Afghānistān border along the south of the road running from Mashhad to that city.[2] At the present time, Khawāf forms one of the five components (bakhshs) of the Shahrastān (fortified city) of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya in the ustān or province of Khurāsān; and this administrative division also includes Zawzan[3]. Commenting on Khawāf and its people, during the reign of Akbar Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, the author of Haft Iqlīm, who was also a native of Irān, says that Khawāf has always been the 'mother

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1. Blochmann's note in Āin-i-Akbarī tr. Blochmann, vol. I, (second edition) Delhi 1965, p.493, Cf. G. Le Strange, Land of Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge, University Press, 1930, pp.352, 357-58.

2. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, ed. E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, vol. IV, Leiden, 1978, p.910.

3. Ali Akbar, Loghat-Nāme Dehkhodā, ed. Muhammad Moin and Syed Ja'afar Shahīdī, No.167, Letter Kh. Fascicule 9, Tehran 1970, p.816; See also Encyclopaedia of Islam, op.cit.

soil' of just and religious rulers, historians, shaikhs, 'ulamā' and beneficent wazīrs.[1] The author adds that they were all so ambitious and efficient in discharging their duties that wherever they went, they obtained distinction and became favourites of their masters.[2] The Al-muzaffar dynasty belonged to Khawāf and seven of its rulers had ruled in Fārs and Shīrāz for 59 years. He also gives an account of the leading Shaikhs and learned men of the time such as Shaikh Sanjān (Subḥān) better known as Rukn-ud Dīn Muḥammad, Shaikh Zain-ul Millat wa-Aldīn, and his grandson, Shaikh Zain Ṣadr who was one of the learned men of his age and was distinguished by his long service with Bābur. Under Humāyūn, he was exalted to the rank of an Amīr.[3] The author also names some important wazīrs who served under Shāh Rukh Mirzā, Bābur Mirzā, Abū Sa'īd Mirzā and Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā. They were Khwāja Ghiyāṣuddīn Pīr Aḥmad, Mirzā 'Alā'ud Daulah, Mirzā Sulṭān Muḥammad and Khwāja Majd-ud Dīn. The last one, in the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā, was elevated to such dignity that he put the seal on the royal orders and

1. Haft Iqlīm, op.cit., vol. 2, p.169.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.171; Cf. M.U. I, p.669.

mandates (Ahkām wa Manshūrāt)[1]. A number of other dignitaries, scholars and learned men from Khawāf are also mentioned by him by name.[2]

A fourteenth century chronicler, Ḥamdullah Mustawfi Qazwīnī, writes that the people of Khawāf were of the Ḥanafite sect, law-abiding and very much attached to their faith. They were friendly to strangers, being given to charity; and they often made the pilgrimage to Mecca.[3] In the 17th century, the author of the Ẕakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, states that formerly the people of Khawāf were known to be bigoted Sunnīs. When Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafavī, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khawāf he forced them to recite tabarrā (condemnation of the first three Caliphs) as is customary with Shīʿas, but they refused, for which many of them were punished. However, the Khawāfīs later emerged as staunch Shīʿas just as they had formerly been bigoted Sunnīs.[4] Thus, it appears that religious persecution was initially severe in the area and quite possibly it drove some

1. Haft Iqlīm, p.173; Cf. M.U., I, 669.
2. Ibid., pp.174-76.
3. Nuzhat-al Qulūb, tr. G. Le Strange, London, 1919, p.152.
4. Z.Kh., vol. I, pp.195-96, Cf. M.U., vol. I, p.669.

Khawāfis to migrate. From Zainuddīn Wasafī, the author of Badāi-ul waqāai', who was in Khurāsān when Shāh Ismaīl defeated Shaibānī Khān, we learn that it was difficult even for Tafẓilī sunnīs to live freely in Khurāsān.[1]

Shamsuddīn Khawāfī, was also apparently a victim of such persecution. He was the son of Khwāja 'Alāuddīn, a leading man of Khawāf.[2] He came to India sometime in the reign of Akbar and became his protege. Soon he acquired a position of trust and, in 1595, he was appointed Dīwān of Kabul. After some time he was made the Dīwān of the Empire (Dīwān-i Kul). In 1598, when after a stay of fourteen years in the Punjab, Akbar moved to Agra leaving behind the Begums and Prince Khurram at Lahore, Shamsuddīn was made governor of Lahore (Punjab)[3] He died at Lahore in 1599-1600.[4] In spite of his being trusted so highly, he never took advantage of it. He had a large family whose members acquired manṣabs and commanded respect.[5] After his death, the

1. Zainuddīn Maḥmūd Wasafī, Badāi-ul Waqāai', ed. Alexander Baldinor, Moscow, 1961, vol. I, pp.2, 3, 4, 19, 20. See also Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani Element in Akbar's Nobility', in P.I.H.C., op.cit., p.168 and n 15.
2. Z.Kh., vol. I, p.195.
3. A.N. III, p, 746.
4. Ibid., p.772.
5. Z.Kh. I, p.195; M.U. II, pp.676-77.

charge of the exchequer of the Punjab was conferred upon his younger brother, Khwāja Momin, again a man of good understanding of affairs. His son, Khwāja ʿAbdul Khāliq, was, in the time of Jahāngīr, very intimate with Mirzā Abūl Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān. During Coup d' etat in 1625, Mahābat Khān killed him simply because of his intimacy with Āṣaf Khān.[1]

During the life-time of Khwāja Shamsuddīn Khawāfī, his brother-in-law, Mīrak Kamāluddīn, who was also from a leading family of Khawāf, alongwith his son, Mīrak Ḥusain, came to India and, apparently on the recommendation of Khwāja Shamsuddīn, became one of the chief servants of Akbar. In India, Mīrak Kamāluddīn married one of the daughters of the Saiyids of his native city, and had a son Mīrak ʿAṭāullah. In Akbar's time, he received a rank of 700 zāt. He was first made bakhshī of Aḥdīs at Kabul and later on was appointed dīwān of Patna, where he died by the close of Shāhjahān's reign. His first son, Mīrak Ḥusain (who had accompanied him from Khawāf), distinguished himself during the reign of Jahāngīr and held high office. After Shāhjahān's accession, he became dīwān of the Deccan. From that

1. Iqbāl-nāma, p.267.

day this office is said to have been made hereditary in this family.[1] We find that up to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the descendants of this family were entrusted with this post. Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, a great grandson of Mīrak Moʿīnuddīn Amānat Khān, held the post in 1746; he also held the dīwānī of Āṣaf Jāh's establishment.[2]

Mirzā ʿArab Khawāfī, a saiyid of Khawāf, came to India sometime in the reign of Jahāngīr and he was soon appointed wāqiʿa nigār-i ḥuẓūr (Recorder of proceedings at the court). Afterwards he was raised to the position of an Amīr. He had two sons. The first, Mirzā Shamsuddīn was killed during his father's life by his own servant while he was engaged in whipping him.[3] The second, Mīr Aḥmad got important appointments and promotions during the time of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. It is said that he was a favourite of Aurangzeb and during his reign Aurangzeb gave him the title of Muṣṭafá Khān, his rank being raised to 3000/2000.[4] He was also sent as an envoy to the countries of Balkh and Bukhārā.[5]

1. M.U., I, pp.258-68.
2. Ibid., II, pp.79-80.
3. Z.Kh., II, pp.356-57.
4. Kāẓim, p.440.
5. M.A., p.48.

His son was Mīr Aḥmad Muṣṭafá Khān (the second). For some time he was dīwān of the household of Niẓāmul Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He was also appointed to the Deccan.[1]

During the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb, the names of a number of other families from Khawāf are also recorded. They included those of Mīr ʿAskarī ʿĀqil Khān, Mīr Abūl Maʿālī, Muʿtamad Khān Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khawāfī, Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī, ʿInāyat Khān Khawāfī, Khwāja Mīr Khawāfī and Khwāja Jahān Khawāfī.[2]

Among these families, those of Mīr Abūl Maʿālī and Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī reached the zenith of their power and prestige under Aurangzeb. Members of these families enjoyed great confidence of the Emperor. A large number of their descendants continued in Mughal service up to the end of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.[3]

Thus, the number of Khawāfīs in the service of Mughal Emperors was considerable and particularly during Aurangzeb's reign their number was much higher than under the preceding regimes (see Chapter IV above).

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1. Z.Kh., II, p.357.
2. For their biographies see M.U. I, pp.748-49, 798-813; II, pp.668-70, 742-46, 813-18, 821-23; III, pp.510-11.
3. See Genealogical Charts at the end of this section.

This was perhaps because of this fact that Aurangzeb is said to have patronised the Khānazāds[1], and the Khawāfīs belonged to the old families.

Information regarding mansabs and important offices held by the Khawāfī nobles in different years have been tabulated at the end of this section, in Appendices A and B.

The table shows that during the reign of Shāhjahān the Khawāfīs already held some important offices. But their ranks were moderate. Khwāja Jahān Khawāfī appears to be the highest manṣabdār among them with the rank of 2000/600 and Muẓaffar Ḥusain Fidāī Khān, son of Mīr Abūl Maʿālī Khawāfī, held the rank of 1500/800. No other Khawāfī is known to have been given the rank of 1000 zāt and above during the entire reign of Shāhjahān.[2] It is quite significant that from Akbar to Shāhjahān no Khawāfī

1. An interesting event can be cited in this connection. One day when Amānat Khān (the second) Khawāfī along with his son entered the imperial enclosure (sarā pardah) in the court, an attendant (chobdār) seized the son's hand and kept him back. Amānat Khān in his wrath seized the chobdār and brought him to the King and said, 'If the Khānazāds are to be insulted by such people, what expectation have they of fame and honour in the King's service ?' The King out of respect dismissed the whole of the guard for that day (M.U. I, pp.287-288).

2. See the list of Khawāfī nobles under Shāhjahān in Appendix-A. The list has been compiled on the basis of M.Athar Ali's Apparatus (op.cit.) and supplemented by Maʿāṣir-ul Umarā. The numbers with the initial letter 'S' in the second bracket under each entry are the serial numbers given in the Apparatus. Figures in the first bracket on the other hand shows the years of that entry.Athar Ali has wrongly identified Muzaffar Ḥusain, the son of Mīr Abūl Maʿāli Khawāfī, as Tūrānī.

was ever given the office of ṣūbedār, whereas under Aurangzeb not less than thirteen governorships of important provinces were held by the members of different Khawāfi families.[1]

As we have seen, the office of dīwān of the Deccan was made hereditary in the family of Mīrak Ḥusain Khawāfī during the reign of Shāhjahān; this is corroborated by our table which reveals that most of the time the members of this family were entrusted with this post.[2] Under Shāhjahān, a number of Khawāfīs were also appointed as bakhshīs. Thus, we find that Mīrak ʿAtāullah, a son of Mīrak Kamāl, was bakhshī of aḥdīs in Kabul. Mīrak Moʿīnuddīn Amānat Khān was, at first bakhshī and wāqiʿa nawīs of Ajmer and then of Multan. Mīr Aḥmad Muṣṭafá Khān, son of Mīr ʿArab Khawāfī, was bakhshī of Lucknow, the second bakhshī of prince Aurangzeb in the Deccan was ʿĀqil Khān Mīr ʿAskarī Khawāfī who held the same post when Aurangzeb became Emperor.[3]

It appears from the list of Khawāfī nobles under Aurangzeb (See Appendix-B) that many Khawāfis held ranks

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1. See. Appendix-B Khawāfi nobles under Aurangzeb. These lists have been compiled from ʿĀlamgīrnāma (Kāẓim) Maāṣir-i-ʿĀlamgīri (M.A.) and Maāṣir-ul Umarā' (M.U.).
2. Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān the son of Mīr ʿAbdul Qādir Diānat Khān was dīwān of the Deccan in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (See M.U. II, pp.79-80).
3. See Appendix - A and B and also their biographies in the M.U. under each individual.

of 1000 zāt and above. Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī was given the manṣab of 5000/5000 in 1657-58 and his brother Saiyid Amīr Khān in 1662-63. Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Ẓafar Jang held the rank of 7000/7000 in 1675-76 and his son, Sipahdār Khān 5000/3500 in 1706. Khāfī Khān rightly remarks that the Khawāfīs prospered more in the reign of Aurangzeb than in the reign of any preceding Mughal Emperor.[1]

It may be pointed out that during Aurangzeb's reign the families of Mīrak Mo'inuddīn Amānat Khān, Shaikh Mīr and Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Ẓafar Jang Kokaltāsh were the most prominent. The office of Dīwān of Deccan was filled successively by members of Amānat Khān's family. Amānat Khān was governor of Kabul and his son Mīr Ḥusain Amānat Khān II was governor of Aurangabad. A number of other posts such as dīwān-i Khāliṣa, dīwān-i buyūtāt, Mutaṣaddī of the port of Surat, Buyūtāt-i Rikāb, and Daftardār-i tan were also in the hands of this family.

Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī was one of the most important officers of Aurangzeb . He died fighting for his master during the war of succession in the battle of Deorai

1. K.K. II, p.72.

against Dārā Shukoh. He had the rank of 5000/5000 (2-3h) in 1658.[1] After his death, Aurangzeb is said to have extended much patronage to the members of his family. His younger brother, Saiyid Amīr Khān, was appointed qil'adār of Delhi with the rank of 2000/1500 in 1658,[2] this was raised later to 4000/3000 in 1659. In 1662-63, his rank was further increased to 5000/5000 (1000x2-3h). He was appointed ṣūbedār of Kabul.[3] Shaikh Mīr's sons, Mīr Ibrāhīm and Mīr Muḥammad Ya'qūb, were also given ranks of 1000/400 and 1000/150 respectively. The former was promoted to the rank of 2000/2000 in 1701.[4]

The family of Mīr Malik Ḥusain Khān-i Jahān Kokaltāsh was apparently the highest and most respected family. As his mother had breast-fed prince Aurangzeb, Mīr Malik Ḥusain and his brother Mīr Muẓaffar Ḥusain were raised to high ranks and became Amīrs.[5] The latter held the rank of 4000/4000 and the office of Mīr Ātish.[6] Khān Jahān became the highest-ranking Khawāfī

1. Kāẓim, pp.156-57.
2. Ibid., p.158.
3. Ibid., pp.345, 661, 842; M.A., pp.38, 71.
4. Ibid., pp.345, 661, 856; M.A., p.440.
5. For their biographical details see M.U. I, pp.798-813.
6. Kāẓim, pp.202, 634, 847, 1061.

officer and obtained governorships of various provinces. In 1657-58, his rank was 1000/500 which was raised to 5000/5000 in 1658-59. He was twice appointed ṣūbedār of Allahabad (viz. in 1666 and in 1690). In 1674, he was again promoted and his rank was increased to 6000/6000 (2-3h) and was also appointed governor of the Deccan. He was also awarded the insignia of Māhī-o-Marātib. In 1675-76, he was again promoted to 7000/7000.[1] His eldest son Muḥammad Ḥasan Muẓaffar Khān, later Himmat Khān, was given the rank of 2500/2200 in 1687 and was appointed ṣūbedār of Allahabad. In the same year, his second son, Muḥammad Ḥusain Nāṣīrī Khān, later Sipahdār Khān, was appointed ṣūbedār of Lahore.[2] In 1694, he was promoted to the rank of 3000/3000 and appointed ṣūbedār of Allahabad. In 1705, he was given promotion and his rank was raised to 4000/3500. Next year (1706), he was again promoted and received the rank of 5000/3500.[3] A number of other descendants of this family were in the Mughal service till Muḥammad Shāh's reign.[4]

Besides these large Khawāfī families, there were a number of small ones too. There were many individuals whose family relations could not be traced. They were

1. M.A. pp.168, 172, 176, 381, 390.

2. Ibid., p.283; Cf. M.U. III, p.950 gives Deccan.

3. Ibid., pp.241, 273, 283, 365, 379, 481, 496. See also Appendix-B.

4. See M.U. III, 949-51.

ʿInāyat Khān Khawāfī, who was a manṣabdār of 1000/100 and dīwān of Khāliṣa. His son-in-law, Pādshāh Qulī Tahawwur Khān, was faujdār of Ajmer in 1679. ʿĀqil Khān Mīr ʿAskarī, the son of Mīr Muḥammad Taqī, held the manṣab of 1500/500 in 1658-59, and by 1666 he reached that of 2500/700. In 1681, he was appointed ṣūbedār of Delhi.[1] Mīr Aḥmad Muṣṭafā Khān Khawāfī was a manṣabdār of 3000/2000 and Qilʿadār of Gandikota in Karnatak in 1659.[2] In 1660 he was appointed Mutaṣaddī of Surat port[3] and was sent as an envoy to Balkh and Bukhārā in 1664.[4] Khawāja Mīr Khawāfī Ṣalābat Khān and his son Tahawwur Khān (Fidāi Khān) were also important officers under Aurangzeb. Besides holding a number of offices such as those of Mīr Tuzuk, governor of Awadh, Dārogha of filkhāna (elephant stable), topkhāna and khāṣ chaukī, Ṣalābat Khān was also twice appointed as Mīr Ātish. While his son Fidāi Khān was made faujdār of Sahāranpūr and Dārogha of Qūrkhāna.[5] In 1659, another individual

1. See Appendix A and B.
2. Kāẓim, p.440; M.A. p.28.
3. Kāẓim, p.471.
4. M.A., p.48.
5. See Appendix B. For the biographical details of all these nobles see M.U. under each individual.

Khawāfī noble, Mīr Rustam Khawāfī appears to have been promoted to the rank of 1500/1000. In 1666-67 he was appointed faujdār and Qarāwalbegī of Baroda.[1]

To sum up, whatever might have been the causes of their migration, the Khawāfīs were at par with other sections of the nobility, though none of the Khawāfī families was so politically dominant as the family of I'timād-ud Daula was. Appendices A and B clearly show that many important central posts such as Mīr Ātish, Mīr Tuzuk, Dārogha-i Topkhāna, second Bakhshī, and Bakhshī of Ahdīs; and faujdārīs of various sarkārs and Qil'adārīs of many important forts were entrusted to them. It also appears that they were quite successful in the discharge of their services in the provinces. Important provinces such as Kabul, Lahore, Gujarat, Bengal and the Deccan were some time or the other put under their charge. They also held Dīwānī offices. Perhaps the Khawāfīs were considered very honest and competent in the affairs of revenue in those days.

1. Kāẓim, pp.399, 986.

GENEALOGICAL CHART A

- 1. Mīr Ḥusain
  - 2. Mīr Ḥasan = d/o Khawāja ʿAlāuddīn Muḥammad
    - 3. Mīrak Kamāl
      - 4. Mīrak Ḥusain
        - 6. Mīrak Moʿīnuddīn Amānat Khān
          - 8. Mīr ʿAbdul Qādir Diānat Khān I
          - 9. Mīr ʿAbdur Raḥmān Wizārat Khān ʿGirāmīʾ
            - 19. Mīrak Moʿīn Khān
          - 10. Mīr Ḥusain Amānat Khān II
          - 11. Kāẓim Khān
            - 24. Mīr Ḥasan ʿAlī = 32
              - 33 Shāhnawāz Khān (author of M.U.)
          - 12 D = 15
            - 25 Mīr Ghulām Ḥusain, Kifāyat Khān
              - 34 Mīr Ḥaidar Kifāyat Khān
              - 35. Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Arshad Khān
          - 13 D = Khawāja Momim Ḥusainī Balkhī
          - 14 D = Mīr Abū Turāb Mashhadī
            - 26 D = Sa'aduddīn Khān Bahādur
              - 36 Ḥafīẓuddīr Sa'aduddīn Khān II
        - 7 D = X
          - 15 Arshad Khān, Mīr Abūl ʿAlā = 12
      - 5. Mīrak ʿAṭāullah

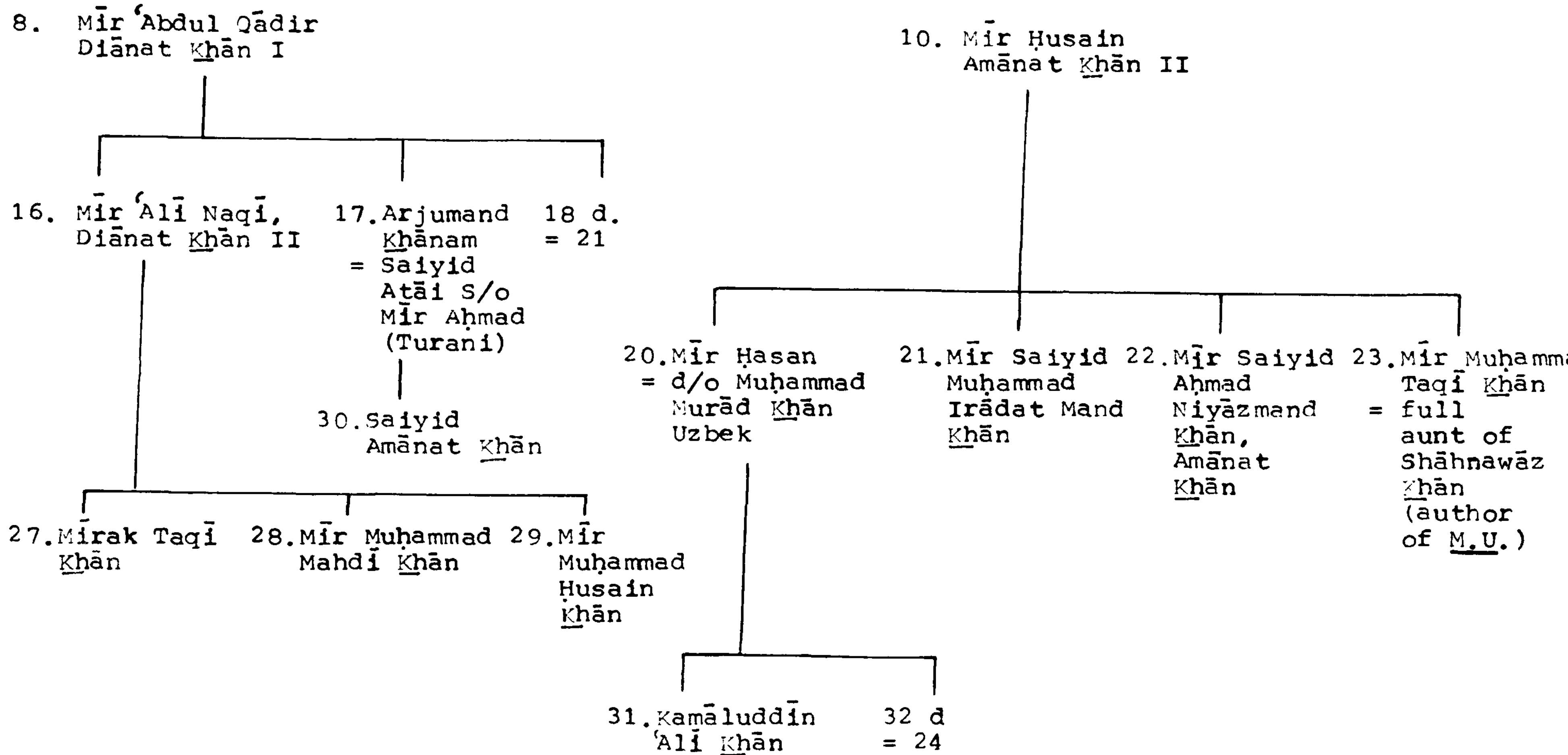

8. Mīr ʿAbdul Qādir Diānat Khān I
16. Mīr ʿAlī Naqī, Diānat Khān II
17. Arjumand Khānam = Saiyid Atāi s/o Mīr Aḥmad (Turani)
18 d. = 21
30. Saiyid Amānat Khān
27. Mīrak Taqī Khān
28. Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī Khān
29. Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān
10. Mīr Ḥusain Amānat Khān II
20. Mīr Ḥasan = d/o Muḥammad Murād Khān Uzbek
21. Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Irādat Mand Khān
22. Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Niyāzmand Khān, Amānat Khān
23. Mīr Muḥamma[d] Taqī Khān = full aunt of Shāhnawāz Khān (author of M.U.)
31. Kamāluddīn ʿAlī Khān
32 d = 24

Chart B

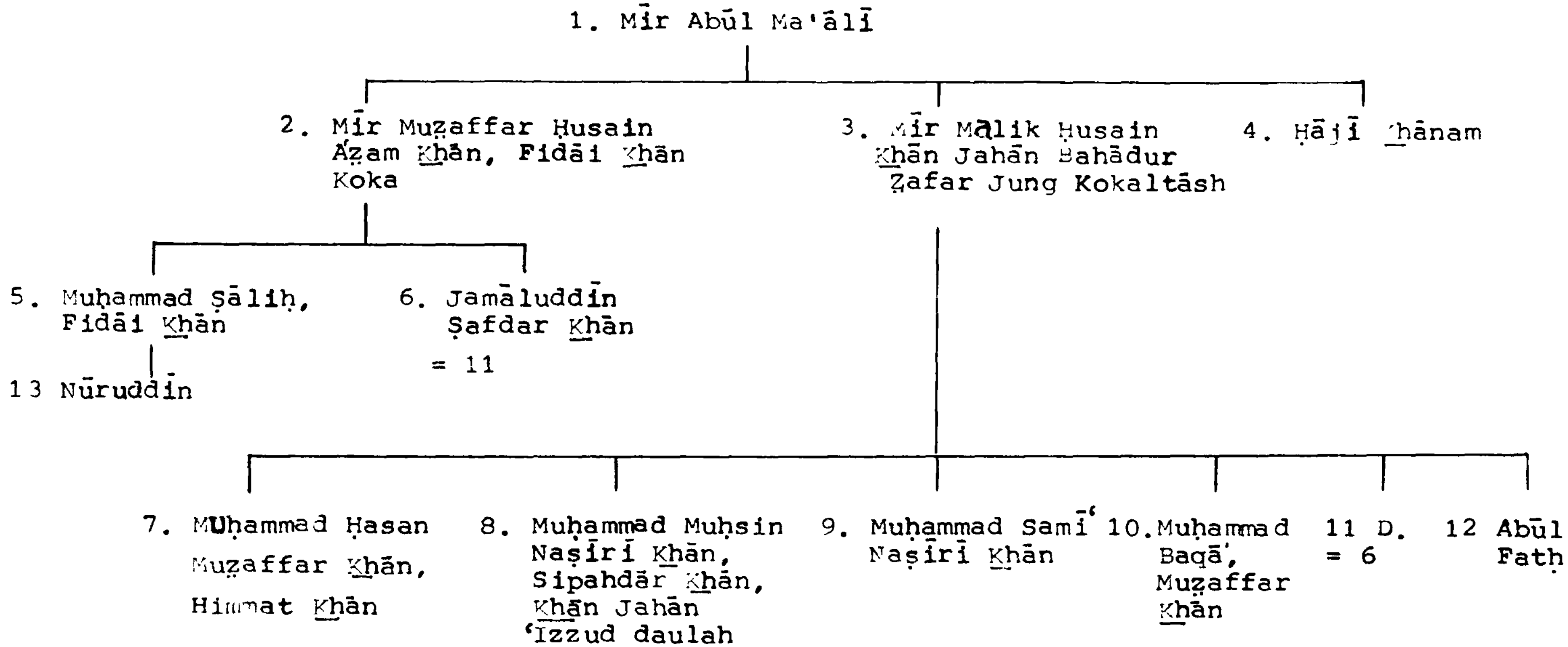

1. Mīr Abūl Ma'ālī
2. Mīr Muẓaffar Ḥusain Aʿẓam Khān, Fidāī Khān Koka
3. Mīr Mālik Ḥusain Khān Jahān Bahādur Ẓafar Jung Kokaltāsh
4. Ḥājī Khānam
5. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, Fidāī Khān
6. Jamāluddīn Ṣafdar Khān
= 11
13 Nūruddīn
7. MUḥammad Ḥasan
Muẓaffar Khān,
Himmat Khān
8. Muḥammad Muḥsin Naṣīrī Khān, Sipahdār Khān, Khān Jahān ʿIzzud daulah
9. Muḥammad Samīʿ Naṣīrī Khān
10. Muḥammad Baqā', Muẓaffar Khān
11 D.
= 6
12 Abūl Fatḥ

Chart C

- 1. Mirzā ʿArab
  - 2. Mīr Aḥmad, Muṣṭafáʾ Khān I
    - Badīʿuz-zamān (5) (Adopted son)
  - 3. Mirzā Shamsuddīn
  - 4 D.
    - 5. Badīʿuz-zamān (Adopted by 2)
      - 6. Mīr Aḥmad, Muṣṭafáʾ Khān II
        - 7. Mīr Muḥammad ʿAlī, Saiyid Mukarram Khān Bahādur

Chart D(i)

1. Khawāja ʿAlāuddīn Muḥammad Khawāfī
   - 2. Khawāja Shamsuddīn Khawāfī
   - 3 D.
     = Mīr Ḥasan
   - 4. Khawāja Momin
   - 5. Khwāja ʿAbdul Khāliq

Chart D(ii)

1 X
   - 2. Pādshāh Qulī Khān,
     Tahawwur Khān
     = d/o ʿInāyat Khān Khawāfī
     - 4. Asaduddīn Aḥmad
   - 3. Fāẓil Beg
     Tahawwur Khān

Chart E

1. Mīr Muḥammad Taqī

2. Mīr Muḥammad ʿAskarī ʿĀqil Khān

3. Mīr ʿAbdul Ḥaʾī

4 D.
= Shukrullah Khān Khawāfi
S/o
Khwajagī Sulṭān Maḥmūd

5. Mīr ʿInāyatullah, Shākir Khān

6. Mīr Bulāqī

Chart F

1. Abūl Maʿālī

2. Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī

3. Saiyid Amīr Khān

4 D.

5. Mīr Ibrāhīm, Muhtasham Khān

6. Mīr Isḥāq, Mukarram Khān (Childless)

7. Mīr Mohd. Yaʿqūb, Shamsher Khān

8 D. = Mir ʿAzīzullah

9 D = Khawāja Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Naqshbandī

10. Saiyid Muḥammad

12 D = 13

11. Muḥammad Khān Muhtasham Khān

13. ʿUbaidullah Khān (An adopted son) = 12

14. Hashmatullah Khān

15. Saiyid Hashmatullah Khān

Chart G

1. Khwāja Mīr Khawāfī
   Ṣalābat Khān

   |

2. Shaikh Mīr Tahawwur Khān
   Fidāi Khān

   |

3. Mīr ʿAzīzullah,
   Fidāi Khān

4. Mīr ʿAbdullah
   (ʿIbādullah Khān),
   Fidāi Khān

References to the Genealogical Charts

Chart A

1 : 2, 2=d/o Khwāja ʿAlāuddīn Muḥammad	M.U. I, 258-59.
2 : 3; 3:4	Lāhorī, I(a) 303; (b) 104, 316; II 91, 752; M.U. I, 259.
3 : 5	Lāhorī II, 751; Ṣāliḥ III, 477; M.U. I, 259.
4 : 6	M.A. 110; M.U. I, 260.
6 : 8	Kāẓim, 97, 760; M.U. I, 263, 267; II, 59.
6 : 9; 9 : 19	M.U. I, 267.
6 : 10	M.A., 317; M.U. I, 267-68.
6 : 11	M.U. I, 267-68.
6 : 12; 12 = 15; 15 S/L 6	M.A., 394; M.U. I,290; T.M. 14.
6 : 13; 13 = Khāwaja Momin Balkhī	T.M. 88-89.
6 : 14; 14 = Mīr Abū Turāb Mashhadī	T.M. 139.
14 : 26; 26 = Saʿaduddīn Khān; 26 g/s 6	T.M., 139.
6 : 8 : 16	M.U. II, 70; T.M. 69.
8 : 17; 17 = Saiyid Atāī S/o Mir Aḥmad; 17:30	M.U. II, 62-63.
8 : 18; 18 = 21	M.U. I, 289-90.
10 : 20; 20 = d/o Muḥammad Murād Khān Uzbek : 31 +32	M.U. I, 289-90.

10 : 21; 21 = 18	M.U. I, 289-90.
10 : 22 + 23; 23 = Shāhnawāz Khān's aunt	M.U. I, 289-90.
11 : 24; 24 = 32: 33 g/s 11	M.U. I, 268, 289-90.
12 = 15: 25; 25 : 34 + 35	M.U. I, 291.
16 : 27 + 28 + 29	M.U. II, 78-80.

CHART B

1 : 2 + 3	M.U. I, 798
2 : 5; 5 : 13	M.A., 247-48.
2 : 6; 6 = 11; 6 S/L 3	M.A., 241; M.U., I, 806.
3 + 4	M.A., 406; Akhbārāt, 44 R.Y. 8 Zīqada, 16 April, 1700.
3 : 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11	M.A., 241; M.U. I, 806.
3 : 12	M.A., 395, 406; M.U. I, 811, see also Akhbārāt op. cit.
3 : 8	M.A., 155.

CHART C

1 : 2 + 3	M.U. III, 516.
1 : 4; 4 : 5; 5:6; 6:7	M.U., III, 518.
5 adopted son of 2	M.U. III, 518.

CHART D (i)

1 : 2 + 4	M.U. I, 664-69.
1 : 3; 3 = Mīr Ḥasan	M.U. I, 258-59.
4 : 5; 5 N/O 2	Iqbālnāma, 267; M.U. I, 667.

CHART D (ii)

2 S/L ʿInāyat Khān Khawāfī	M.U. I, 447; II, 818.
2 + 3	M.A., 273; M.U. I, 452-53.
2 : 4	M.U. I, 453.

CHART E

1 : 2	T.M. 8.
2 : 3	T.M. 2.
2 : 4; 4 = Shukrullah Khān S/L 2	M.A. 303; T.M. 8.
4 = Shukrullah Khān : 5	T.M. 38,
5 : 6	T.M. 138.

CHART F

1 : 2	T.U. 224.
2 + 3	Kāẓim, 158; M.A.,107; M.U. II, 476-77.
2 : 4; 4: 10	Kāẓim, 345.
2 : 5 + 6 + 7	M.A. 107; M.U. II, 670; III, 695, 793.
2 : 5	M.A. 141; M.U. III, 646-50; T.M. 23.
2 : 6 + 7	M.A. 144; T.M. 36.
2 : 8; 8 = ʿAzīzullah S/L 2	M.A., 144.
2 : 9; 9 = Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Naqsh bandī	M.A. 171.

5 : 11; 11 : 14	M.U. III, 793; 796; T.M. 123.
5 : 12; 12 = 13 : 15	T.M. 140.
6 : 13 (adopted son); 13 = 12; 12 : 15	M.U. III, 695-701; T.M. 121, 140.

CHART G

1 : 2	M.A. 493; T.M. 66
2 : 3	T.M. 99.
2 : 4	T.M. 135.

APPENDIX-A

Khawāfī Nobles Under Shāhjahān

S.No.	Name and Title	Rank	Ṣūbedār	Dīwān	Faujdār	Bakhshī	Qil'edār	Other Posts
1.	Mīrak Ḥusain Khawāfī	800/200 (1637) (S1749)	-	Deccan (A.C.) (1630) (S450)	-	-	-	-
2.	Mīrak 'Aṭāullah	500/100 (1647) (S4228) 700/200 (1657) (S7033)	--	Bihar (1653-54) (S6005)	-	Ahdīs (A.C.) (1652-53) (S5779)	-	-
3.	Mīrak Mo'īnuddīn	-	-	Multan (1654) (S5930)	-	Ajmer (1640) (M.U., I, 260) Multan (1654) (S5930)	-	Waqi'a nawīs Ajmer (1640) (M.U. I, 260) Waqi'a nawīs of Multan (1654) (S5930)
4.	Mīr Aḥmad Muṣṭafa' Khān S/o Mirzā 'Arab Khawāfī	400/80 (1654) (S6075) 700/250 (1657) (S7025; S7856)	-	Kashmir (1648) (M.U. III, 516-18)	-	Lucknow (M.U. III, 516-18)	Ẓafarnagar fort in Berar (1656-57) (S6609)	-
5.	Khwāja Jahān Khawāfī	2000/600 (1627) (S7; S1109) (S1625)	-	Gujarat (1627) (S7, S293, S1109)	-	-	-	-
6.	Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khawāfī Mu'tamad Khān	500/70 (1647) (S4244)	-	Buyūtāt (1652-53) (S6003) Deccan (1655) (S6173)	-	-	-	Mushrif-i-Topkhāna and Kotwāl-i 'askar (1650-51) (S5393)
7.	'Āqil Khān, Mīr 'Askarī Khwāfī	-	-	-	-	2nd Bakhshī of Prince Aurangzeb in Deccan (1657) (M.U. II, 821-22)	-	-
8.	Mīr Malik Ḥusain, Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh S/o Mīr Abūl Ma'ālī Khawāfī	700/100 (1653-54) (S5955) 900/400 (1656-57) (S6931; S7726)	-	-	Hoshangābād Handia (Deccan) (1655-56) (S6495)	-	-	-

APPENDIX-A CONTD..

9.	Muzaffar Husain, Fidāi Khān Koka b/o Khān Jahān Koka	700/200 (1647-48) (S4106) 1000/400 (1651-2) (S5537) 1000/500 (1651-52) (S5559) 1500/600 (1655-56) (S6356) 1500/800 (1656-57) (S7225)	- -	- -	- -	Ahdīs (1650) (S4663) Kabul (1651-52) (S5462, S5491) also Dārogha-i Topkhāna of Kabul (Ṣāliḥ, III, 124, 143; M.U. I, 247-48)	- -	Kotwāl (1647-48) (S4324) Tuzuk (1649-50) (S4590) Amīn A.C. (S4595) Mīr Tuzuk (1651-52) (S5596), (S5908) Mīr Tuzuk (1655-56) (S6376) Dārogha of Gurzbardār (1656-57) (S7202)
10.	Raḥmatullah Khawāfī	-	-	-	-	Ahdīs (1655-56) (S6416)	-	-

APPENDIX-B

Khawāfī Nobles Under Aurangzeb

.No.	Name and Title	Rank	Sūbedār	Dīwān	Bakhshī	Faujdār	Qilédār	Other Posts
.	Mīrak Moīnuddīn, Amānat Khān I	1000/200 (1671) (M.U.I(a), 262).	Kabul(1658) (M.U.I(a), 261)	Khāliṣa(1671) (M.A.110,126) Lahore (1675) (M.U.I(a),262-63) Deccan (1678-79) (M.U.I(a),262-63)	- -	- -	Lahore fort (1675) (M.A.143-44, 148) Aurangabad (1684) (M.U.I(a), 264)	—
.	Mīr ʿAbdul Qādir, Diānat Khān I	1500/350 2000/1000(1686) (M.A.271) 2000/1500(1702) (M.A. 460)	-	Buyūtāt(1665) (Kāẓim,917) Deccan(1691) (M.A.337)	-	-	-	Mutaṣaddī Surat port (1699-1700) (M.A.,412).
).	Mīr Ḥusain Amānat Khān II	1500/900 (1693) (M.A.347)	Aurangabad (1693) (M.A.347)	Bijapur (1688-9) (M.A.317;M.U. I, 288) (A.C.1693) (M.A. 349)	-	-	-	Daftardār Tan (1690) (M.A.335) Buyūtāt-i Rikāb (1693) (M.A.349) Mutaṣaddī of Surat port (1699, A.C.) (M.A. 412).
.	Mīr ʿAlī Naqī, Diānat Khān II	-	-	Dy. Dīwān Aurangabad (1690-91) (M.U. II,70-80) Bīdar(M.U.II,70-80) Burhanpur (M.U.II, 70-80)	-	-	-	Buyūtāt of Aurangabad (1691) (M.U.II,70-80)
).	Mīr Saiyid Muhammad Irādatmand Khān S/o Amānat Khān II	-	-	-	-	-	-	Buyūtāt of Aurangabad (M.U.I,289-90)
5.	Mīr Muḥammad Khān (Jān) S/o Muḥtasham Khān Mīr Ibrāhīm	700 zāt (M.U. III,793).	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī	5000/5000(2-3h) (1658) Kāẓim,157, M.U.II,668-70.	-	-	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX-B CONTD..

.	Saiyid Amīr Khān b/o Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī	2000/500 (1658) 4000/3000(1659) (Kāẓim,345) 5000/5000(1000x 2-3h)(1662-63) (Kāẓim,842; M.A. 71).	Kabul(1661-62) (Kāẓim,661; M.A. 38) (A.C.1668) (M.A.71)	–	–	–	Delhi (1657-58) (Kāẓim,158)	–
.	Muhtasham Khān, Mīr Ibrāhīm S/o Shaikh Mīr	1000/400(1659) (Kāẓim,345) 1000/500(1665) (Kāẓim,856) 1500/1000(1674) (M.A. 130) 2000/1000(1698) (M.A. 396) 2000/2000 (1701) (M.A.440)	Agra (A.C.) (1684) (M.A. 246) Allahabad (1685) (M.A.246-47) Aurangabad (M.U.III,648) –	– –	– –	Langarkot (near Peshāwar) (1675) (M.A. 141) Sahāranpur(A.C.) (1676) (M.A.158) Mewat (1676) (M.A. 158,181)	Naldurg (1703) (M.A.470) Wagingera (1705) (M.A. 501)	– –
0.	Mīr Ishāq Mukarram Khān S/o Shaikh Mīr	–	Awadh(A.C.) (1666) (Kāẓim, 927) Lahore(1683) (M.A.226) Multan (1687) Lahore(1697, A.C.) (M.A.386)	–	–	–	–	Suptd.of Body-guards(1675) (A.C.) (M.A.144) Suptd. of Mace-bearers (1676) (M.A.158,228).
1.	Mīr Muhammad Yaʿqūb S/o Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī	400/600(1668) M.A. 171; M.U. II,670.	–	–	–	–	–	–
2.	ʿInāyat Khān Khawāfī	900/100 (1668) (M.A.76) 1000/100 (1676) (M.U.II,818)	–	Khāliṣa (1668) (M.A.76) Khāliṣa (1676) (Second time) (M.A.159)	–	Chakla Bareilly (1671) (M.A.110) Khairābād(1675) (M.A.141) Ajmer(1681) (M.A.206,213)	–	Buyūtāt of ʿImārāt (1681) (M.A.206).

APPENDIX-B CONTD..

3	[illegible] Quli Tahawwur [illegible]	-	-	-	-	Awadh (A.C.) (1679) (M.A.171) Ajmer(1679) (M.A.173,179)	-	-
[illegible]	[illegible]n, Mir 'Askari [illegible]	1500/500 (1658-59) (Kāẓim,401) 2000/700 (1663) (Kāẓim,843;M.A. 47) 2500/700 (1666) (Kāẓim,981)	Delhi(1681) (M.A.195,383)	-	2nd Bakhshi (1658-59) (Kāẓim,44) Bakhshi-i Tan (1679) (M.A. 176)	Miyān-i Doāb (1659-60) (Kāẓim,478)	Aurangābād city (1658) (Kāẓim,44) Daulatābād Fort (1658-59) (Kāẓim,193-94;M.A.26)	Dārogha of Ghusalkhāna (1663) (Kāẓim, 851) Dārogha of Dāk chauki (1669) (A.C.) (M.A. 82).
[illegible]	[illegible] Husain, [illegible] Zafar [illegible] Kokaltāsh	1000/500 (1658) (M.U.I(b),799) 5000/5000(4000 x2-3h) (1666) (Kāẓim,981); (M.U.I(b),801) 6000/6000(2-3h) (1673-74) (M.A.124) 7000/7000 (1675-76) (M.A.142)	Allahabad (1666) (M.A.58) Gujarat (1668) (M.U.I(b) 801). Deccan (1673) (M.A.124) (1677 A.C.) M.A.161) Deccan(1680) (M.A.189) Bengal (1688) (M.U.I(b),810) Allahabad (1690) (M.A.335) Punjab (1691) (M.A.338,360)	-	-	-	-	Māhi-o-Marātib (1673) (M.A.127)
[illegible]	[illegible] Husain, [illegible] Koka, b/o [illegible] Zafar [illegible]ltāsh	4000/2500(1658) (Kāẓim,146) 4000/4000(1659) (Kāẓim,202)	Awadh(1668) (M.U.I,249-50) (A.C.1670) (M.A.104) Lahore(1670) (M.U.I,250)	-	-	Miyān-i-Doāb (1658) (Kāẓim,146) (A.C.)(Kāẓim,167)	-	Mir Ātish (1661-62) (Kāẓim,634) (1663-64), (Kāẓim,847).

contd...

APPENDIX-B CONTD..

		3000/2000 (1661) (Kāẓim,593) 3500/2000 (1662) (Kāẓim,741-42) 3500/2300 (1663) (Kāẓim,762) 4000/2300 (1663) (Kāẓim,843) 4000/2500 (1665) (Kāẓim,870) 4000/4000 (1667) (Kāẓim,1061)	Kabul(1674,M.A. 136) (1676 A.C.) (M.A.157) Bengal (1676)(M.A.159) (1678 A.C.) (M.A. 168) - -	- - - -	- - - -	Awadh and Gorakhpur (1659)(Kāẓim, 202) Awadh(A.C.) (1660) (Kāẓim,477) Gorakhpur(H) (Kāẓim,476) (A.C. 1660-61) (Kāẓim,573). -	- - - -	- - - -
7.	Muḥammad Ḥasan Muẓaffar Khān, Himmat Khān S/o Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh	2500/2200 (1686-87) (M.A. 282)	Bijapur (1686) (M.A.273) Allahabad (1686-87) (M.A.282) Awadh (1690) (M.A.335) Allahabad (1691) (M.A.338,348)	- -	- -	Gorakhpur (1690) (M.A.335) Jaunpur (1693, A.C.) (M.A.348)	- -	- -
.	Muḥammad Ḥusain, Naṣīrī Khān, Sipahdār Khān S/o Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh	3000/3000 (1694) (M.A.365) 4000/3500 (1705) (M.A.481) 5000/3500 (1706) (M.A.496)	Lahore (1687) (M.A. 283) Allahabad (1694) (M.A. 365) (1697, A.C.) (M.A. 387) Allahabad (1705, Second Time)(M.A.481)	- -	- -	Jaunpur (1694 till 1699) (M.A.365; M.U. III,950) -	- -	- -

contd...

APPENDIX-B CONTD...

19.	Muhammad Sālih, Fidāi Khān S/o Āzam Khān Koka	3000/2500 (1700) (M.A.433)	Agra (1694) (M.A.368-69) Bihar (1695) (M.A.369-70)	Bareilly (1684-85) (M.A.247)	Ahdīs (1682-83) (M.A.221)	Bareilly (1684-85) (M.A.247) Gwalior (1694 A.C.) (M.A.368) Tirhut and Darbhanga (1700) (M.A.433)	-	Dārogha of Ghusalkhāna (1680) (M.A.188); Cf.(M.U.III, 33-34) gives filkhāna
20.	Jamāluddīn Safdar Khān S/o Āzam Khān Koka	-	-	-	-	Gwalior (AC.) (1690) (M.A.335)	-	-
21.	Abūl Fath S/o KhānJahān Kokaltāsh	1000/400 (1699) (M.A.406)	-	-	-	-	-	-
22.	Arshad Khān, Abūl ʻAlā S/L Mīr Husain Amānat Khān I	-	-	Kabul (AC.) (1699) (M.U.I,290) Khālisa (1699) (M.A.394) (1701 AC.) (M.A. 441)	-	-	-	-
23.	Mīr Ahmad, Mustafá Khān Khawāfi	3000/2000 (1659) (Kāzim,440)	-	-	-	-	Gandi Kota (in Karnatak) (1659) (M.A. 28)	Mutasaddī Surat (1660) (Kāzim, 471); (M.A.34) Envoy to Balkh and Bukhārā (1664) (M.A.48)
24.	Khawāja Mīr Khawāfī Salābat Khān	-	Awadh (1682-83) (M.U.II,743) (AC. 1684) (M.A.242)	-	-	-	-	Dārogha of elephants (1678) (M.A. 171) Dārogha of topkhāna (1680) (M.A.187-88)

APPENDIX-B Contd..

		-	-	-	-	-	-	Mir Ātish (1682) (M.A.216) Mutasaddi Surat port (1684) (M.A.247)
		-	-	-	-	-	-	Mir Ātish (1687-88) (M.U.II,744) Ist Mir Tuzuk (1690) (M.A.333)
		2500/1200 (1691) (M.A.341)	-	-	-	-	-	Dārogha of Khās Chauki (A.C.1691) (M.A.340)
25.	Tahawwur Khān Fidāi Khān S/o Ṣalābat Khān Khawāja Mir Khawāfi	-	-	-	Sahāranpur (1697-98) (M.U.II,746)	-	-	Dārogha of Qūrkhāna (1704) (M.A.493)
26.	Mir Rustam Khawāfi	1500/500 + /500 1500/1000 (1659) (Kāẓim,399) 1000/1000 (1666-67) (Kāẓim,986)	-	-	Baroda (1666-67) (Kāẓim,986)	-	-	Qarāwalbegi of Baroda (1666-67) (Kāẓim,986).
7.	Mir ʿĀbid Khawāfi	-	-	-	-	-	-	Mushrif and Amin of Dāgh (1660) (Kāẓim,442)

The Ma'mūrīs

One name which occurs throughout the 17th century but has eluded detailed scholarly scrutiny is Ma'mūrī. In this section the fortunes of individual Ma'mūrīs, and their internal relationships are explored, with a view to discovering the degree of continuity of rank and influence in this particular case. Since the Ma'mūrīs were largely medium-ranking officials the information in them has large gaps.

In the biography of Mīr 'Abdur Razzāq Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī, the author of Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā' states that he was a true Saiyid of Ma'mūrābād, a village in the vicinity of Najaf.[1] This is a more reasonable ascription of their native place than the one suggested by the modern translator of the Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā', that the place of origin of the Ma'mūrīs was a place called Ma'mūra near Kabul.[2] Quite obviously Shāhnawāz Khān in the 18th century was in a fairly good position to know of the origin of the Ma'mūrīs and his statement may be safely

1. M.U., vol. III, p.376. No place called Ma'mūrābād is mentioned in Haft Iqlīm op.cit. or the Rauẓat-us Ṣafā, a comprehensive history of Iran by Mīr Khwānd; nor is it mentioned in Le Strange's The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, op.cit. Ma'mūria - a village in the city of Khurram Shahr and a village of the same name in the city of Nishāpūr are mentioned in Farhang-i Jughrāfiya-i Irān, Vols. 6 and 9 respectively. These references are corroborated by Loghat Nāme Dahkhodā, op.cit., Latter 'M' p.760.

2. M.U., tr. H. Beveridge, Reprint, Patna 1979, vol. I, p.269; he cites Elliot and Dowson's History of India, etc. vol. V, p.316.

accepted. No connection between Kabul and the Maʿmūrīs is, in any case, recorded.

The Maʿmūrīs, were, therefore, Irānīs, and indeed like the bulk of the Irānī nobility, they seem to have appeared for the first time during the reign of Akbar. The first name which we get is that of Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq Maʿmūrī. Though the Maʾāṣir-ul Umarāʾ mentions that his ancestors had migrated to India[1], we do not find record of any earlier member of the family living or serving in India. The first reference to ʿAbdur Razzāq Ma'mūrī himself occurs when in June 1586 Qāsim Khān led an expedition into Kashmir, and Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq Ma'mūrī was posted with him.[2] In October, 1586 when the imperial forces met with a reverse, Qāsim Khān sent Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq and others in the vanguard.[3] In the same year Akbar is said to have introduced certain reforms in the administration and dual appointments were made to provincial offices. Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq Maʿmūrī was appointed bakhshī of ṣūba Bihar with Rai Patar Das as its dīwān.[4]

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1. M.U., III, p.376.
2. A.N., III, p.496.
3. Ibid., p.506.
4. Ibid., p.511.

In 1592, after the rebellion of Muẓaffar Shāh Gujarātī, Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq was appointed as Bakhshī of Gujarat.[1] In 1593 he was put under surveillance by Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka before the latter's escape to Ḥijāz via port Bilawal which was in the jurisdiction of Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq.[2]

In 1596 Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq Maʿmūrī was sent with Qulīj Khān to join Qāsim Khān in operations against the Raushaniyas and his good service received notice.[3] He also served with Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī in Bengal for a long time as Bakhshī. When Raja Man Singh, ṣūbedār of Bengal, was ordered to lead an expedition against Mewar, there was some disturbance in Bengal. Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq Maʿmūrī was arrested by Maʿṣūm and Qutlū Lohānī, the leaders of the rebellion, in or about 1601. Thanks to the timely return of Raja Man Singh who dispersed the rebels and further by the chance that the executioner who was deputed to kill the Mīr was shot dead, his life was saved. Afterwards, he went to the court and received royal favours.[4]

The Tuzuk suggests that he was imperial Bakhshī at the time of Akbar's death. Jahāngīr refers to his

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1. A.N., III, p.629.
2. Ibid., p.638.
3. Ibid., pp.702, 703.
4. Ibid., III, pp.786-87; Z.Kh. I, p.206; M.U. III, pp. 376-77.

earlier defection from his own service but the details of the service ʿAbdur Razzāq performed with Prince Salīm are not available. Inspite of his defection Jahāngīr now confirmed him in his post, and granted him the title of Muẓaffar Khān. He was appointed as second Bakhshī along with Khwāja Jahān. In this service he distinguished himself.[1] After some time he was appointed Bakhshī of Prince Parvez[2] and later on Bakhshī of the court (Bakhshī-i Ḥuẓūr).[3] In 1609 Muẓaffar Khān Maʿmūrī was sent to direct the manṣabdārs of the army serving in Mewar that they should obey the orders of ʿAbdullah Khān, who had replaced Mahābat Khān.[4]

For some time in 1612, Muẓaffar Khān Maʿmūrī was given the charge of the revenue department in Thatta. On the basis of past and current realization, he determined the jamaʿ dāmī and also assigned jāgīrs to Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī, the newly appointed ṣūbedār and his dependants.[5] In 1616-17 he was appointed ṣūbedār of Thatta and his

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1. Tuzuk, p.6. He seems first to have joined Prince Salīm's service, but left it "without cause for reason" for that of Akbar; Z.Kh. pp.206-7; M.U. III, 377-78.
2. Tuzuk, p.7.
3. Ibid., p.39.
4. Ibid., p.74.
5. Ibid., pp.110, 111; Z.Kh., Vol. I, pp.206-207; Vol. II, pp.24, 211, 391; M.U. III, p.378.

rank was raised to 2500/1000.[1] In 1620-21 he was made governor of Agra[2] and in 1622-23 was assigned the high office of Mīr Bakhshī.[3] During the last days of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed ṣūbedār of Malwa.[4] After Jahāngīr's death, Khān Jahān Lodī marching northwards from the Deccan seized Malwa from Muẓaffar Khān Maʿmūrī.[5] After his accession Shāhjahān assigned Malwa to Khān Zamān, son of Mahābat Khān, and Muẓaffar Khān Maʿmūrī was obliged to live in retirement in the capital.[6] It is not known when he died.

Mīr ʿAbdul Wahāb, a younger brother of Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq, was a poet and his pen-name was ʿInāyatī.[7] Under Jahāngīr he was made Bakhshī of Qandahār and afterwards, when Prince Dāwar Bakhsh was appointed ṣūbedār of Gujarat, he was made Bakhshī of Gujarat. He died there.[8]

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1. Tuzuk, pp.156, 234.
2. Ibid., p.337.
3. Ibid., p.361.
4. Qazwīnī, f.131(b); M.U. III, p.378.
5. Lāhorī I(a), pp.76, 82.
6. Ibid., pp.126,427.
7. M.U. I, p.140.
8. Z.Kh. II, p.304; M.U. I, p.140.

Mīr ʿAbdul Wahāb's son Asad Khān Maʿmūrī served in Thatta with his uncle Muẓaffar Khān Maʿmūrī. Since Asad Khān loved soldierly display he is said to have employed a large number of Arghūn and Tarkhān youths whom he always kept around him at Thatta.[1] When Prince Parwez went with Mahābat Khān, in pursuit of Prince Shāhjahān, Asad Khān was posted with him. Mahābat Khān, after coming to Burhānpur, put him in charge of Ellichpur. In the war between ʿĀdil Shāhī commander and Malik ʿAmbar, in 1624 he went to reinforce Mullā Lārī, the ʿĀdil Shāhī general, along with other officers and manṣabdārs. When the ʿĀdil Shāhīs were defeated at Bhatwadi, Asad Khān escaped from the battle field and reached Burhanpur. When Shāhjahān returned from Bengal and besieged Burhanpur, Asad Khān helped Rāo Ratan in defending the city. As a reward of this he was promoted to the post of Bakhshī of the Deccan.[2]

When Khān Jahān Lodī, after the death of Prince Parwez, was appointed ṣūbedār of the Deccan, he used to get up in honour of Āqā Afẓal Fāẓil Khān, who was dīwān of the Deccan, but did not rise for Asad Khān Maʿmūrī. Asad Khān is said to have been displeased, since he was

1. Z.Kh. II, p.275.

2. M.U. I, p.140.

very conscious of his own status as a Saiyid.[1] The Bādshāh Nāma implies that he held the rank of 2500/1500[2], at the time of Jahāngīr's death.

In the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign Asad Khān was recalled and came to court, bringing with him 14 elephants as peshkash.[3] Shāhjahān overlooked his active part in the defence of Burhanpur, and in 1629 appointed him faujdār of Lakhi Jungle with an increase of 500 zāt, whereby his rank was raised to 2500/1500.[4] In 1632, while holding the rank of 3000/1500 he died at Lahore[5]. According to the Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn a son of Asad Khān Maʿmūrī was killed in a Skirmish between ʿAbdullah Khān Fīroz Jang and the Rānā in the 4th regnal year of Jahāngīr.[6]

Another Maʿmūrī officer noticed during Jahāngīr's reign is Mīr ʿAbdul Karīm Maʿmūrī. It seems that he was a noted architect. In 1615 he was sent to Māndū with orders

1. Z. Kh. II, p.275; M.U. I, p.141.

2. Lāhorī, I(a), p.183; This rank was confirmed later by Shāhjahān.

3. Ibid., p.197; M.U. I, p.141.

4. Ibid., p.288; but this seems to be a mistake of the scribe. In 1627 his rank is mentioned 2500/1500. After an increase of 500 zāt it should be 3000/1500 which is given in the decinnial list. Cf. M.U. I, pp.141-42 gives 2500/2500, which also seems to be a slip.

5. Lāhorī I(a), pp.290, 307; Z.Kh. II, pp.275-76.

6. Z.Kh. II, p.68.

to construct new buildings for imperial use and to repair the buildings of the previous sulṭāns.[1] In about a year, Mīr ʿAbdul Karīm got some old buildings repaired and a few new ones constructed. Besides, he constructed in the city a whole new building on which Rs.3 lakhs were spent.[2] When the Emperor visited these buildings he granted to Mīr ʿAbdul Karīm the rank of 800/400 and the title of Maʿmūr Khān.[3] He is also said to have constructed buildings at Lahore at an expense of Rs.7 lakhs in 1620. The famous poet and historian Chandra Bhān Brahman was in his service at Lahore.[4]

It seems that at the death of Jahāngīr, Mīr ʿAbdul Karīm was appointed dīwān of the Punjab, he was replaced in 1631 by Ḥakīm Jamālā-i Kāshī.[5] In 1663 he was appointed Dārogha-i ʿImārāt (Superintendent of buildings) of Agra.[6] In 1634 he was promoted to the rank of 1000/200.[7] In 1638 he was given promotion to 1500/200.[8] He was employed in

1. Tuzuk, p.137.
2. Ibid., pp.179-180.
3. Ibid., p.182.
4. Ṣāliḥ III, pp.434, 443.
5. Lāhorī I(a), p.407.
6. Ibid., p.474; I(b), p.76.
7. Ibid., pp.2-3, 311.
8. Ibid., II, pp.103, 732.

the construction of the Tāj Maḥal, along with Mullā Mursnid Shīrāzī Makarmat Khān.[1] In 1655 he is mentioned as holding four posts, Bakhshī, Wāqi'a nawīs, Dārogha of buildings and Mīr Bahr of Agra. In these posts he was replaced by Muṭṭalib, son of Mu'tamad Khān.[2]

An officer of the same clan who rose to prominense during the reign of Shāhjahān was Mīr Abūl Fazl Ma'mūrī. The author of Zakhīratul Khawānīn knew him and praises his generosity and obliging nature. He held a high status in the Deccan. He received favours from Prince Aurangzeb during the latter's viceroyalty of the Deccan. When the betrothal of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān with the daughter of Quṭb Shāh was being arranged in 1656 and Quṭb Shāh's mother wished to see the prince, Aurangzeb sent Mīr Abūl Fazl and others to receive and escort her.[3] Towards the close of Shāhjahān's reign he held the rank of 500/200.[4]

In 1658 when Aurangzeb marched northwards to claim the throne, Mīr Abūl Fazl Ma'mūrī was promoted to the rank

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1. Lāhorī, II, p.330.
2. Ibid., p.491.
3. Ṣādiq Khān, ff.93(a)-(b); K.K. I, p.747.
4. Ṣāliḥ, III, p.484; M.U. III, pp.503-504.

of 1000/400.[1] In the battle of Dharmat he served in the Vanguard with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and Najābat Khān. After the battle he was granted the title of Ma'mūr Khān and promotion to the rank of 1500/500.[2] In the battle of Samūgarh he was again placed in the vanguard under the same generals.[3]

It is said that when Najābat Khān subsequently showed some presumption, Aurangzeb sent Mīr Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī who was a very good friend of his to bring him to the court. But his persuations were unsuccessful and Najābat Khān spok scornfully of the Emperor. Then afraid of his conduct being reported, Najābat Khān murdered Abūl Faẓl and had his corpse thrown outside. Yet Najābat Khān was only deprived of his rank and title, no other punishment was awarded to him.[4]

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1. Kāẓim, p.53.
2. Ibid., pp.62, 77; M.U. II, p.504.
3. Ibid., p.93.
4. M.U. III, pp.505-506. The murder is obliquely referred to in Ālamgīr Nāma, on p.230 where Najābat Khān is said to have been deprived of his rank, jāgīr, the high title of Khān-i Khānān Sipahsālār and the honour of coming to the court for the serious crime (Taqṣīr-i 'aẓīm).

   However, Ṣādiq Khān Ma'mūrī gives another version. He gives the name of the murdered man as Mīr Khawāfī (Ṣādiq Khān, ff.101(b), 104(a)). One can not say where the truth lies. In any case, Mīr Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī is not heard of again. The possibility cannot be ignored that by Mīr Khawāfī, Ṣādiq Khān meant Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī. There is some suggestions of close ties between Ma'mūrīs and Khawāfīs, which we shall comment on later.

Mīr Abūl Faẓl was survived by a son Mīr ʿAbdullah who was a master calligraphist. For some time he served as Bakhshī of the army of Fīroz Jang. Mīr ʿAbdullah's two children are also noticed: a son who owing to unemployment became a darwesh and a daughter who was married to Jaʿafar ʿAlī Khān Khurāsānī.[1] Jaʿafar ʿAlī Khān had earlier acquired fame as a son-in-law of Ḥātim Beg Kifāyat Khān. He had served under Aurangzeb as dīwān of Bijapur, of Haiderabad and of Bihar and for sometime as Bakhshī of the army of Ghāzīuddīn Khān Fīroz Jang. He died at the beginning of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. Nothing is known about the other children of Mīr Abūl Faẓl Maʿmūrī.[2] But his sister had many children. One of her grand children was Fakhruddīn ʿAlī Khān. Fakhruddīn ʿAlī's father Mīr Abūl Fatḥ resigned imperial service and took to commerce and oversea trade at Cuttack in Orissa.[3] This is one of the rare instances where trade could entice away a member of the Mughal nobility.

Fakhruddīn ʿAlī himself was said to be an intelligent and enterprising man but not favoured by fortune. He was appointed Bakhshī and wāqiʿa nawīs of Sangamner in the Deccan during Aurangzeb's reign. In the

1. This marriage reinforces the belief that the Maʿmūrīs were Irānīs.

2. M.U. III, p.506.

3. Ibid., p.507.

reign of Bahādur Shāh I he was appointed Qil'adār of Surat.[1] He was dismissed in the reign of Farrukh Siyar. When Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Amīr-ul Umarā' came to the Deccan in 1715, on account of his old acquaintance with his family, Fakhruddīn 'Alī was appointed faujdār of Bijagarh.[2]

In 1724 when Mubāriz Khān was appointed ṣūbedār of the Deccan, he appointed him as governor of Berar. He died about the time Niẓāmul Mulk overthrew Mubāriz Khān. Shāhnawāz Khān, the author of Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā', says that the Mīr was closely related to him.[3] The relationship is, however, not described; Shāhnawāz Khān was himself an Irānī, being a Khawāfī.

In the account of 1659 the 'Ālamgīrnāma mentions Isfandyār Khān Ma'mūrī as commander of Prince Shujā's vanguard in battle against Mīr Jumla.[4] After Shujā's defeat, as the prince retreated to Akbarnagar he ordered Isfandyār Khān to build an entrenchment.[5] In 1660 the latter was sent to Dūnāpūr to check the imperial forces.[6]

1. M.U. III, p.507.
2. Cf. K.K. II, p.852 calls it sarkār Khargāon.
3. M.U. III, pp.507-508.
4. Kāẓim, p.251.
5. Ibid., pp.496-97.
6. Ibid., p. 504.

In the battle of Tanda, Isfandyār Khān Maʿmūrī commanded the rearguard and sustained serious injuries.[1] When at last Shāh Shujāʿ fled to Assam, Isfandyār Khān surrendered to Mīr Jumla in 1661.[2] He was apparently accepted in service. He was appointed faujdār of Khairābād.[3] According to the Tārīkh-i Muḥammadī, he was given the title of Maʿmūr Khān.[4] In 1684 after some success in an engagement Maʿmūr Khān who had now got the title of Dilir Khān, was granted a robe of honour, a farmān, a tugh and a banner.[5]

Isfandyār Khān Maʿmūrī had a son, Muḥammad Yār Khān who was given his father's title Maʿmūr Khān in 1684.[6] In 1692 Muḥammad Yār Maʿmūr Khān was appointed faujdār of Bīr being transferred from Aurangābād. He was also given a promotion of 400 sawār and thus his rank was raised to 1500/800.[7] In 1701 he is mentioned to have been removed

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1. Kāẓim, p.523; Ṣādiq Khān, ff.112(a), 114(b).
2. Ibid., pp.554-5.
3. Ibid., p.863.
4. T.M. op.cit. p.12.
5. M.A., p.240.
6. Ibid., p.243.
7. Ibid., p.347.

from the faujdārī of Karnatak Bijapur.[1] He died in the same year, as sūbedār of Bijapur.[2]

Two more Maʿmūrī officials of Shāhjahān's reign namely Muḥammad Ṣādiq holding (supposedly) the title Ṣādiq Khān Maʿmūrī and Mīr Abūl Faẓl Maʿmūrī pose a problem for the historian to resolve. They were themselves historians whose respective histories of the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb were freely plagiarised by Khāfī Khān. The account of Shāhjahān's reign was written by Ṣādiq Khān, while from the 2nd R.Y. of Aurangzeb's reign till his death the work was compiled by Abūl Faẓl Maʿmūrī.

The exact relationship between the two authors is not known. Ṣādiq Khān has given the names of his family members, such as his uncle Mīr Muḥammad Khān who along with his two sons received wounds in the war of succession.[3] Another uncle Bāqī Khān was appointed ṣūbedār of Agra in 1648.[4] He also claims that Jaʿafar Khān the well known wazīr of the early years of Aurangzeb and a member of the house of Iʿtimād-ud Daula was an uncle of his.[5] This amounts

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1. M.A., p.441.
2. T.M., p.12.
3. Ṣādiq Khān, ff. 9(b), 10(a).
4. Ibid., f.79(b).
5. Ibid., ff.100(a), 102(b).

to a claim that Ṣādiq Khān was related to Nūr Jahān's family by marriage. Here, again, it may be noted, kinship is claimed with the most eminent Irānī family.

Ṣādiq Khān offers certain details about himself. He was appointed waqā'i' nawīs of Prince Shāhjahān's army during the expedition against the Rānā of Mewār (1614).[1] After Shāhjahān's accession he was made Bakhshī.[2] In the 4th R.Y. (1631) he was appointed superintendent of Ghusal Khāna.[3] In 1642 he was appointed Dīwān of Tan, vice Rāi Mukand Dās.[4] In 1647 he was promoted to 6000/6000.[5] The other particulars cannot be confirmed; but the last is sheer invention. No manṣabdār of 6,000 zāt of the name of Ṣādiq Khān Ma'mūrī is recorded by Lāhorī or Wāriṣ. It seems that for some reason Ṣādiq Khān was given misleading particulars either for self-glorification or possibly to escape identification. In this case even the name Ṣādiq Khān may be dubious.

It may well be that this was because Ṣādiq Khān was not sympathetic to Aurangzeb's cause. In 25th R.Y.

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1. Ṣādiq Khān, f.2(b).
2. Ibid., ff.4(b)-5(a).
3. Ibid., f.22(b).
4. Ibid., f.56(a).
5. Ibid., f.76(b).

(1651) he says, he was appointed Waqāi' Nigār of the four provinces of the Deccan.[1] But he had returned to Agra before the War of Succession. When Aurangzeb arrived near Dholpur, Shāhjahān wanted to lead the army personally and for that orders were sent to Dara through Ṣādiq Khān; but the Prince did not agree.[2] Ṣādiq Khān and his uhcle Mīr Muḥammad Khān sustained severe injuries in the battle[3].

After Aurangzeb's accession he was removed from the post of Wāqi'a nawīs of Agra and detained at the court.[4] In the 29th R.Y. 1687 Mīr Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī mentions him as alive, being involved in a suspected conspiracy with Prince Mu'aẓẓam.[5] This makes Ṣādiq Khān's career even more of a puzzle giving him a career right from 1614 to 1687. Obviously, there is some enormous blunder deception somewhere here.

Mīr Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī who continued the compilation was certainly not the same Abūl Faẓl who had served in the Deccan during Shāhjahān's time (see above).

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1. Ṣādiq Khān, f.86(b).
2. Ibid., f. 98(a).
3. Ibid., f. 98(b).
4. Ibid., f.100(b).
5. Ibid., f.168(b).

In the 6th R.Y. 1662 A.D. Mīr Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī describes Shāista Khān's Deccan campaign on the testimony of the narration of his father who had been in that campaign.[1] But he does not mention his father's name.

In 1682 he was, in addition to being Mīr-i Sāmān of Burhanpur, he was also appointed Waqāi' nawīs.[2] In 1685 when Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam besieged the fort of Bijapur, Mīr Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī was sent there to convey some important imperial message to the Prince.[3] In 36th R.Y. (1693 A.D.) he mentions that he was transferred from the post of Dārogha-i Buyūtāt, in which he had been serving for thirty years, and was appointed Mīr Bahr.[4] This is in apparent contradiction to his earlier statement about holding the post of Mīr Sāmān in 1682; but the post of Mīr Sāmān was closely connected with the Buyūtāt Department. None of these particulars can be verified from other sources; and these too may well be fictitious.

Our survey of the Ma'mūrīs thus provides some answers while it raises others that need more elucidation.

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1. Ṣādiq Khān, f.130(a).
2. Ibid., ff.155(a)-(b).
3. Ibid., ff.163(a)-(b).
4. Ibid., f.185(b).

First of all it is practically certain that the Ma'mūrīs were Irānīs, and almost as certain that they were Saiyids of Ma'mūr near Najaf. They only married among Irānī families. Their connexions with Khawāfīs are, however, not clear, though certain hints are suggestive. Ṣādiq Khān seems to call Abūl Fazl Ma'mūrī, Mīr Khawāfī; Khāfī Khān obtained a copy of apparently privately kept history of Ṣādiq Khān and Abūl Fazl Ma'mūrī II which he plagiarised; Shāhnawāz Khān, a Khawāfī, claimed kinship with Ma'mūrīs. Even more tantallising is the lack of information about the kinship between various officers bearing the clan-name Maʿmūrī. It is hoped that these may be clarified as records and MSS. are further investigated. Finally, the curiously fictitious nature of biographical details about the two Ma'mūrī historians Ṣādiq Khān and Abūl Fazl Ma'mūrī II demand adequate explanation. While all these matters are for further research, the history of Ma'mūrīs within the Mughal nobility illustrates once again how once admitted to the nobility, members of a family or clan could go on claiming a place in it for a long time on the basis of status that had been once recognised.

(iv) MĪR JUMLA'S FAMILY

Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd Mīr Jumla is one of the well known figures of 17th - century India. An emigrant, merchant, administrator and general, he was at once an adventurer and a statesman.[1] Jagdish Narain Sarkar has given us a definitive biography of the man, based on the varied original sources available, Persian, English and Dutch, etc.[2] It is, therefore, not necessary here to go over the same ground again, and a summary statement of the main facts of his life may suffice.

Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd Ardistānī was a native of Ardistān near Iṣfahān.[3] His father was a petty oil-merchant. Yet he found an opportunity to acquire some knowledge of letters which apparently helped him to secure the office of a clerk to a diamond merchant who used to trade with Golkonda.[4] He then accompanied another Persian merchant as his personal attendant and incharge of his horses in a voyage to India.[5] Later gossip held that he was compelled to selling shoes

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1. Bernier, p.16.
2. The Life of Mir Jumla - The General of Aurangzeb, (Second edition), New Delhi, 1979 (hereafter see Mir Jumla).
3. Wāriṣ, p.312; M.U., III, p.530.
4. Mir Jumla, p.2.
5. Bernier, pp. 16-17; Manucci I, pp.231-32.

in the streets of Golkonda during his early days.[1] He, however, soon established himself at Golkonda primarily as a great merchant and subsequently entering Quṭbshāhī service obtained the title of 'Mīr Jumla' which denote his position as the principal minister or general. He was particularly responsible for Quṭbshāhī occupation of parts of the Vijayanagar Empire (Karnatak), and the Quṭbshāhī Karnatak became practically his private kingdom. This was bound to excite jealousy at the Quṭbshāhī court; and Mīr Jumla in turn turned to the Mughals for protection.[2]

It was in 1656 that Mīr Jumla threw himself under the protection of Shāhjahān who, after the successful invasion of Golkunda by Aurangzeb, granted him initially the rank of 5000/5000, while his son Muḥammad Amīn obtained that of 2000/1000.[3] Subsequently, he was granted the title of Muʿaẓẓam Khān and the rank of 6000/6000 and he was appointed to the high office of wazīr of the Mughal Empire.[4] On the accession of Aurangzeb he was promoted to the manṣab of 7000/7000

1. Manucci, I, pp.232-32.
2. Bernier, pp.18-20; Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Travels in India (1640-67) tr. V. Ball, 2 vols. London 1889, vol. I, p.165.
3. Wāriṣ, p.312; M.U., III, pp.531-32.
4. Ibid, p.346, 350; Ibid., pp.534-35.

and was deputed to lead the army against Prince Shujā' in the east.[1] After the successful conclusion of the Campaign, he was granted the title of Khān-i Khānān Sipahsālār.[2] He then led an invasion of Assam, but on his return, died at Khizrpur in Kuch Bihar in 1663.[3]

Mīr Muḥammad Amīn, the only son of Mīr Jumla, was an important noble of Golkunda Kingdom when the latter was at the height of his power. He had a considerable following at court and acted as deputy of his father when he was absent in Karnatak.[4] When Mīr Jumla transferred his allegiance to Shāhjahān, Mīr Muḥammad Amīn was imprisoned by Quṭb Shāh alongwith his family and his property was confiscated. He was subsequently released under the pressure of Aurangzeb's forces which invaded Golkunda. He waited upon Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad (Aurangzeb's son) near Haiderābād.[5] It was in the 30th R.Y. of Shāhjahān (1656) that Muḥammad Amīn, along with his father, entered Mughal service. But on account of heavy rains and of his sudden illness

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1. Kāẓim, pp.218-19, 233; 266-67; Bernier, pp.79-80.

2. Ibid., p.563; Ma'mūrī, ff. 118(a)-(b).

3. Ibid., p.812; Ibid., f.129(b); Bernier, p.173; M.U. III, p;554.

4. Wāriṣ, p.365; Ma'mūrī, f.95(a); M.U. III, p.613.

5. Ibid., p.336.

he had to stay behind at Burhanpur while his father went to the court. After some time came to court and received a Khil'at and the title of Khān.[1] In the same year Mīr Jumla was sent to the Deccan to be an auxiliary of Prince Aurangzeb in the Bijapur Campaign. Muḥammad Amīn, being promoted to the rank of 3000/1000 was appointed deputy wazīr on his father's behalf at the court.[2] Thus Mīr Jumla's family, from the very beginning of its arrival at the Mughal court, was given a very high position. In 1657 (31st R.Y.) Muḥammad Amīn Khān, in addition to the office of deputy wazīr, was appointed Mīr Bakhshī; his rank was increased to 3000/1500 and a bejewelled pen-case was granted to him.[3] Meanwhile Shāhjahān fell ill and, Dārā Shukoh being nominated as his successor, it was difficult to retain Mīr Jumla, suspected to be the partisan of his rival Aurangzeb, as wazīr. He was therefore removed from the office of wazīr towards the end of September 1657 for having acted against certain orders. His son, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who had been acting as his deputy wazīr was forbidden from going to the office.[4]

1. Wāriṣ, p.363; M.U., III, p.613.

2. Ibid., p.365; Cf. Ma'mūrī, f.95(a) Where his rank is given 3000/3000.

3. Ma'mūrī, f.96(a); Cf. M.U. III, pp.613-14.

4. Mir Jumla, p.177.

In December 1657 Mīr Jumla was recalled to the court. But Aurangzeb, loath to lose aid of Mīr Jumla's forces, persuaded him to remain with him in the Deccan. Since Mīr Jumla was not ready to defy the imperial order he was arrested (January, 1658) and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Daulatābād.[1] On the other side, Muhammad Amīn Khān was imprisoned in Agra by Dārā Shukoh simply on the charge of neglect of duty but actually on the suspicion of Mīr Jumla's collusion with Aurangzeb in the Deccan. But shortly afterwards he was released from confinement.[2]

After Aurangzeb's accession Muhammad Amīn was appointed to the office of Mīr Bakhshī and his rank was raised to 4000/3000.[3] In the 2nd R.Y. his rank was increased to 5000/4000[4]; and further to 5000/5000[5] in the 5th R.Y. In the 7th R.Y. (1664) 1000 of his sawār rank was made do-aspa sih-aspa.[6] In the 10th R.Y. (1667) he was sent to suppress the uprising of the Yūsufzaīs. Though before his arrival, Shamsher

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1. Kāzim, p.84; Maʿmūrī f. 96(a).
2. Ibid.; Ibid., ff.98(a), 100(a); Cf. Bernier, pp.41-42.
3. Ibid., pp.111-12, 119; Cf. Maʿmūrī, f.100(a).
4. Ibid., p.426.
5. Ibid., p.762.
6. Ibid., p.855.

Khān Tarīn had defeated the Afghāns, Muḥammad Amīn too entered their territory and devastated their country before returning to Lahore. Soon after he was appointed ṣūbedār of Lahore in succession to Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg[1] and the office of Mīr Bakhshī, which Muḥammad Amīn was still holding, was now assigned to Dānishmand Khān[2]. In 1667, Muḥammad Amīn received royal orders to treat ʿAbdullah Khān (the expelled ruler of Kāshghar) with all respect and care and to give him 50,000 rupees from the public revenue besides a large amount and some articles as offering on his own behalf.[3] In the 13th R.Y. (1670) he was appointed ṣūbedār of Kabul.[4] In the same year Jaʿafar Khān the wazīr died and Asad Khān was deputed as acting wazīr until a suitable person was found. The choice fell on Muḥammad Amīn Khān. In the 14th R.Y.(1671) he came to the court. Inspite of his business capacity and his ripe judgement was wellknown, he was reputed to be haughty and reckless. He accepted the office of wazīr on certain conditions which were not acceptable to the Emperor. The offer was, therefore, withdrawn, and

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1. Kāẓim, p.1065; M.A. pp.62-63; Maʿamūrī, f.139(a) states that Muḥammad Amīn Khān was appointed ṣūbedār of Lahore in addition to the office of Mīr Bakhshī and was then sent to Chastise the Yūsufzai Afghāns.

2. Kāẓim, p.1067; M.A. , p.64.

3. M.A., p.64. Similar orders were also sent to Mumtāz Khān, ṣūbedār of Kashmir and other governors and faujdārs on his route.

4. Ibid., p.104; M.U. ,III, p.616.

he was granted leave to go back to Kabul, though he did receive a special robe of honour (Khil'at-i Khāṣa) and the elephant ʿAlam Gumān with silver trappings.[1]

In the 15th R.Y. (April 1672) Muḥammad Amīn Khān had to face a serious Afghān uprising. He was worsted in a battle on the Khyber Pass. His young son ʿAbdullah Khān was killed in battle, while his young daughter and some of ladies of his family were captured by the Afghāns and only released on payment of heavy ransoms.[2] It is said that inspite of having come to know that the Afghāns, on hearing of his designs to march from Kabul to Peshāwar, had closed the roads, Muḥammad Amīn in his arrogance paid no heed to it and after crossing the Khyber marched on into their territory. The Afghāns attacked on all sides and great slaughter occurred among the Mughals. Muḥammad Amīn Khān wanted to sacrifice his life but his servants led him away.[3] This great reverse destroyed his reputation, and Aurangzeb did not give him another chance against the Afghāns which he sought from the emperor. His rank was reduced from 6000/5000 to 5000/5000 and he was

1. M.A., p.111; M.U. III, p.617.

2. Ibid.,pp.117-18;Manucci, II,pp.200-201, also see M.U. III, 617-18.

3. M.A., p.118.

appointed sūbedār of Gujarat without being allowed a visit to the court.[1] He served there for a fairly long period. In the 22nd R.Y. (1679) an order was sent to him to come with his contingent to Ajmer to take part in the campaign against the Rana.[2] Muḥammad Amīn was consequently granted the honour of paying homage to the emperor at Ajmer in the beginning of the 23rd R.Y. (October 1679), and he was well rewarded alongwith his officers.[3]

In February 1680 he took leave at Chittor for Ahmadabad and at the time of departure he was granted a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant.[4] In the 25th R.Y., on 16 June, 1682 he died in Ahmadabad while still its sūbedār. He was burried within the Bhadra citadel.[5] Like his father, he too left large property including 70 lakhs of rupees, 1,35,000 ashrafīs and Ibrāhīmīs, 76 elephants, 432 horses, 117 camels, 114 mules, ten chests of Chinaware of all kinds, 60 carts (rahkala),

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1. M.A., p.121; M.U., III, pp.618-19.
2. Ibid.; Ibid.
3. Maʿamūrī, ff. 151(a)-(b).
4. M.A., p.189; Cf. Ali Muḥammad Khan, Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, ed. Syed Nawāb Ali, Baroda, 1927-28, vol. I, p. 292; M.U., III, p. 619.
5. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, I, p.302; Cf. M.A. p.219 gives 4 June. His tomb and a mosque adjacent to it are still extant in the Bhadra fort near the Kutcheri gate. The tomb has been transformed into a residence and the mosque into the office; See M.S. Commissariat, A History of Gujarat, Bombay, 1957, Vol.2, p.183 (hereinafter see Commissariat).

one maund of shot, and 54 maunds of gunpowder. These possessions were brought from Ahmadabad to the court and seized by the imperial orders.[1] In Delhi, Muḥammad Amīn Khān had a haveli (mansion) which after his death was presented in 1686 to Mahabat Khan Haiderabadi[2]. In Ahmadabad, Muḥammad Amīn Khān had laid out a garden with great trouble and planted various kinds of fruit trees. We are informed that Aurangzeb was fond of choice mangoes of this garden and sent orders to the new governor Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī asking him to furnish details of the income, expense, area of the land (garden), buildings, number of trees etc. of this garden.[3] About the wealth of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Manucci on the testimony of the Khān's own secretary says "without drawing pay or income from the king, he could of himself, with the rank he had, maintain twelve thousand horsemen for eighty years".[4] It may be noted that Muḥammad Amīn Khān, after his father's death, had been looking after the latter's business through his agent or broker 'Mier Mameth Hosseyn Taffa Tappa' (Mīr Muhammad Ḥusain

1. M.A., p.226; Cf. M.U., III, p.619 does not mention horses, Camels, mules and other things. The Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, I, pp.304-5, mentions only 59 horses of which 17 old and deformed ones were sold by the dīwān of the sūbah and the remaining 42 horses were sent to the court.

2. M.A. , p.272.

3. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, Vol. I, p.305.

4. Manucci, vol. II, pp.201-202.

Tubatabai). Even four years after Mir Jumla's death, Muhammad Amin Khan enjoyed high repute there at Masulipatam his agent Taptapa (Tubatabhai?) virtually acted as master of the port and bought and sold and loaded and unloaded cargo free of every impost.[1]

Muhammad Amin Khan was proud and self-conceited by his nature[2] but at the same time he was known for honesty and truth. He had a wonderful memory. He memorized the Quran in a very short time during his governorship of Ahmadabad and attained the privilege of being designated a 'Hafiz' by the Emperor himself.[3]

Regarding his religion we are told that he was a Shia (Imamiya) and his bigotry had reached such an extent that he did not admit Hindus to privacy. If any of the great Rajas, who could not be denied, came to see him, he afterwards had the house washed and carpet removed; and he changed his clothes![4] If Manucci may be relied upon, Muhammad Amin Khan is said to have denied the common people in Ahmadabad the right to offer their prayers in the same mosque at the time of

1. Bernier, p.195; E.F.I. (1655-60), p.187.

2. M.A. 219; Manucci, II, p.179 also calls him a haughty and far from genial.

3. M.A., p.219; M.U. III, p.620.

4. M.U., III, p.620.

his prayers. This caused great resentment among the people who mobbed the Khān, when he came out of the mosque, and the Khān was obliged to hide in a neighbouring house. He reported the incident to the Emperor; but the latter censured him for his haughtiness. Mir Muḥammad Amīn Khān died within a short time of this occurrence.[1]

A similar incident of mass agitation in which the ṣūbedār was mobbed on the day of ʿĪd, while returning from the prayers, has been recorded in Mirāt-i Aḥmadī under this year but in a different context.[2] Manucci,

1. Manucci, vol. II, p.202.

2. Mirāt-i Ahmadī, vol. I, pp.300-301 mentions that in the year 109 AH., a severe famine took place in Ahmadabad due to scarcity of food. Dearness of cereals and foodgrains rose to such an extent that people suffered afflictions for want of bread. By chance, ʿĪd fell during these days. The Khān had gone out for prayers. On his return to the city through the bāzār, people, who had come out for the celebration, gathered around his carriage (sawārī) and began to lament about the dearness and scarcity. A mischievous person named Abūr Bakr was present in that mob and he induced and excited masses to riot. Muḥammad Amīn Khān went to the fort and a report of it was sent to the Emperor at Aurangābād where he had recently arrived, M.A. p. 17 . The Emperor was enraged and issued an order to Muḥammad Amīn Khān to put Abū Bakr to death as a leader of rioters. The Khān arranged a banquet to which Abū Bakr was also invited. After the food was over, Muḥammad Amīn Khān cut a melon, which was specially kept ready for the Shaikh and personally offered him a few poisoned slices. As soon as the Shaikh ate them, his condition changed and immediately left the banquet. He died soon after reaching home; see S.B. Rajyagor : History of Gujarat, New Delhi, 1 82, p.275.

seems to have been confounded, the latter incident with a real or imaginary protest against his ban on prayers in the mosque during his own presence.

Although apparently a failure on the military front, Amīn Khān earned the reputation of a successful and competent administrator during his governorship of Gujarat. Aurangzeb himself is said to have remarked that 'the management and law and order as established by Muḥammad Amīn Khān in this sūba were not obtained at any time under any of the sūbedārs'.[1] It was perhaps as a result of Aurangzeb's high assessment of his capacities that Amīn Khān held the governorship of Gujarat for as many as ten years[2], a tenure which had never been enjoyed by any of his predecessors.[3] An account of his administration is provided by the Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī, on which the following description is based.

In 1673, after his arrival in Aḥmadābād, Amīn Khān, in compliance with imperial orders, condoned arrears of previous years due from peasants in the Khāliṣa and Jāgīrs and thus saved the peasants from

1. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, I, p.303.

2. From 11th June 1672 to 16th June 1682 (4th Ṣafar 1083 A.H. to 20th Jamād II 1093 A.H.), see M.A., pp. 121, 219.

3. Commissariat, II, p.177.

much harassment. As for the dues of the immediately preceding year it was ordered that these should be demanded only from those who were in a position to pay, and those who had fled should be brought back and restored to their lands.[1] Chaudharies and Muqaddams were taking villages on farm, causing much oppression on the peasants. An imperial order was issued to the Dīwān of the sūba to the effect that tax-farming should cease in both Khāliṣa and jāgīrs and the prohibited cesses should not be demanded from the peasants (riʿāyā). The Amīns in parganas were also ordered to act in accordance with these orders.[2]

During the governorship of Amīn Khān, a number of imperial orders arrived in Gujarat exhibiting Aurangzeb's anxiety to appeal to Muslim law in financial and revenue matters. Imposition of Jizya on the non-muslim subjects of the empire and the collection of Zakāt from the Muslims were the two major steps taken as part of this policy. The collection of Zakāt was revived to avoid loss occuring to the treasury as many Muslims on

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1. Mirāt-i Ahmadī, vol. I, pp.290-91.
2. Ibid., p.292.

whom the payment of zakāt was compulsory evaded it by mixing up their own goods with those of the non-Muslims.[1] In 1673 Amin Khān received an order that Muḥammad Sharīf, the Qāẓī and Muḥtasib of the city should be provided with footmen (piyādās) to enforce Islāmic regulations (Aḥkām-i Sharaī).[2]

Amīn Khān seems to have taken particular interest in the promotion of trade in Gujarat. In 1677 a number of Surat merchants, headed by Mirzā Mu'aẓẓam, approached him at Ahmadābād for assistance against the oppressions of Ghiyāṣuddīn Khān, the customer (mutaṣaddī) of Surat. The merchants also went to the Emperor and consequently Ghiyāṣuddīn Khān was recalled and Muḥammad Beg was appointed as customer of Surat port.[3] In the same year a royal order was enforced in Ahmadabad against the monopolization of trade by a caste. In the muḥāl of Ahmadabad mint (Dār-uẓ Ẓarb Ahmadābād), a group of wire-drawers (Gudāzgarān-i Tārkash) belonging to the Srimāl caste monopolised the profession and did not

1. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, vol. I, pp.296-300 gives a detailed account of Jizya and Ẓakāt, including mode of the collection of Jizya and conditions for the realization of zakāt. Nearly five lacs of rupees were collected annually in Jizya from the Ẓimmis in Gujarat.

2. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, I, p.291.

3. Sir Charles Fawcett (ed.) The English Factories in India, (New Series), Oxford, 1936, vol. I, pp. 83-84.

allow anyone to enter their profession. The order condemned this monopoly saying that prohibition of a trade is not permitted in religion (Shar'a) and demanded that it be set aside.[1] Similarly, in 1680 another royal order granted exemption, from the zakāt tax, to the buyers of horses.[2]

During his viceroyalty Amīn Khan also bestowed much attention on the conservation of public monuments and repairs to fortifications. In 1673 an amount of Rs.8,250 was sanctioned from the royal treasury for the restoration of the fort of 'Azamābād.[3] Similarly, an amount of 992 rupees was given from the royal treasury for repairs of a mosque built by Haibat Khān in the city. Again the fort of Jūnāgarh which was in a state of decay was also ordered to be repaired.[4] In 1676, it was found that the city-walls of Ahmadabad and some of the buildings of the royal palaces in the Bhadra fort

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1. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, I, pp.292-93.

2. Ibid., p.295.

3. Ibid., vol. I, p.290. This fort was built by 'Azam Khān, after himself, the sūbedār of Gujarat during Shāhjahān's reign, on the banks of the Vatrak river to overawe the rebellious kolis of the region and to keep them under control. The ruins of the fort are still visible at the village of 'Azamābād Kot-wadi' in the Kapadwanj ta'luqqa of the Kaira district. See Supplement to the Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1930, p.190; also Commissariat, vol.2, p.120, 181.

4. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, vol. I, p.291.

had began to fall. The Diwān of the ṣūba was ordered to pay 2,900 rupees, according to the estimates, for their repairs from the treasury.[1] The next year, 1580 rupees were also sanctioned (tankhwāh gardīd) for repairs to the college (madrasa), the mosque, the ḥamām and the hospital (dār-ush shifā) constructed by Saif Khān, the ṣūbedār of Gujarat during Jahāngīr's reign.[2]

Besides restoration and repairs to the old monuments, a number of new buildings were also constructed, both for utilitarian and religious purposes, during Amīn Khan's period of viceroyalty. In 1676, a mosque and a sarāi in the town of Dohad, the birth-place of Aurangzeb, were constructed under the superivision of the Dārogha Muḥammad Beg. A sum of 76,300 rupees was spent over their construction.[3]

Besides Amīn Khān, Mīr Jumla had several daughters. He wanted to marry one of them to Saiyid Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad (of Mecca) and another to Saiyid Sulṭān Karbalāī (of Najaf), who were brought by Mīr Jumla to Haiderābād. As the two Saiyids were highly

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1. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, vol. I, p.291.

2. Ibid. p.292.

3. Ibid. p.291. This square walled structure still servives in Dohad and is now utilised for government offices and similar purposes. See Commissariat, vol. 2, p.182 and f.n.11.

educated and of noble lineage,[1] Quṭb Shāh himself resolved to marry his two daughters to them. This was perhaps an additional reason for Mīr Jumla's displeasure with Quṭb Shāh. But on the day of the proposed marriages there occured a hot discussion between Saiyid Aḥmad (Mīr Aḥmad ʿArab of M.U. III, p.620) the elder son-in-law of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shāh who had the management of government affairs and also arranged the marriage, and Saiyid Sulṭān. The situation took a serious turn so much so that Saiyid Aḥmad threatened his father-in-law that he would induce Aurangzeb to wipe out his kingdom in case the marriage took place. Saiyid Sulṭān thereupon set fire to the preparations.[2] The marriage with Saiyid Sulṭān was therefore abondoned. In 1664 he joined Mughal service and was granted the rank of 1500/ 600 and 12000 rupees along with ten horses.[3] In 1665 his rank was increased to 1500/700[4] and he was married to the daughter of Muḥammad Amīn Khān[5]. In 1666

1. Saiyid Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was the son of the sister of Shāh ʿAbbās II and Saiyid Maʿṣūm; he was educated and brought up at Mecca. Saiyid Sulṭān was the disciple of Saiyid Maʿṣūm and belonged to a very high Saiyid family. See Mir Jumla, op.cit., Appendix-D, pp.73-74 and note; Cf. M.U., III, pp.619-20.

2. M.U. III, pp.619-20; Cf. Mir Jumla, p.373.

3. Kāẓim, pp. 840, 843.

4. Ibid., p.870.

5. Ibid., p.876.

he was promoted to the rank of 2000/700[1]. Nothing more is known about him. A brother of Saiyid Sulṭān, Mīr ʿAbbās appears to have been granted permission for returning to his native country (i.e. apparently Irān) in 1676; he was given a khilʿat and an inʿām of 2000/- rupees.[2]

No male member of Mīr Jumla's family after the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, appears to have survived. Mirzā ʿAbdullah the only son of Muḥammad Amīn Khān had already been killed by the Afghāns.[3] A brother-in-law of Muḥammad Amīn Khān named Mirzā Sulṭān[4] is also said to have been killed alongwith Mirzā ʿAbdullah. The only male member of the family, though not from the direct line of Mīr Jumla, a son of Muḥammad Amīn Khān's sister was Saiyid Muḥammad. He was perhaps in the service of his maternal uncle in Ahmadabad when the latter was the

1. Kāzim, p.880.

2. M.A., p.141.

3. Ibid.,117-18; Manucci, vol. II, pp.200-201; M.U. III, pp.617-18.

4. Manucci, vol. II, p.20[illegible]. It seems that Mirzā Sulṭān and Saiyid Sulṭān are the same person, and Manucci is wrong to call him 'brother-in-law' in place of 'son-in-law'. It is true, as we have seen above, that Saiyid Sulṭān in the beginning was betrothed to one of the sisters of Muḥammad Amīn; but the marriage could not be materialized. Further, in 1676 Saiyid Sulṭān's brother Mīr ʿAbbās appears to have taken leave for home. This also suggests that perhaps after his brother's death in 1672 he had to leave India.

ṣūbedār of Gujarat. Because Saiyid Aḥmad is found to have returned to the court in 1683 after the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān. He was granted audience and a robe of honour (Khilʿat).[1] Later he was sent alongwith Mughal Khān and other generals to fight against Durjan Singh Hārā.[2] Nothing more is known of him and the other members of the family after this date.

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1. M.A., p.223.
2. Ibid., p.228.

(V) OTHERS

(a) Mirzās of Qandahār

The Mirzās of Qandahār belonged to the family of the Safavid rulers of Irān. In India they were known as Qandahārīs on account of their having held Qandahār before coming to India. The family come to India with Mirzā Rustam Safavī and his elder brother Mirzā Muzaffar Husain Safavī. They were the great-grandsons of Shāh Ismaʿīl Safavī, and their father Sultān Husain Mirzā was a son of Bahrām Mirzā, a son of Shāh Ismaʿīl Safavī. Sultān Husain was governor (wālī) of Qandahār, Zamīndāwar and Garmser, which extended up to river Hirmand, during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp (1524-76). Later in the reign of Khudā Banda (1577-86) after Sultān Husain's death, Qandahār was assigned to Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, while the territory of Zamīndāwar and Garmser was made over to Rustam Mirzā. The other two brothers Abū Sa'īd Mirzā and Sanjar Mirzā lived with Mirzā Rustam at Zamīndāwar.[1]

Both the Akbar Nāma and the Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārāi ʿAbbāsī say that the two brothers, Mirzā Muzaffar Husain and Mirzā Rustam, did not have cordial relations with each other. As compared to Qandahār Mirzā Rustam's

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1. A.A.A., I, p.478.

territory of Zamīndāwar and Garmser did not yield much income. Therefore, he was anxious to annex other territories; this was naturally opposed by Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā. The brothers fought time and again and both sustained great losses in officers and men. Their situation was made further difficult by the proximity of the Uzbeks, who posed a constant threat to the security of their territories. Finally the approach of the Mughal forces in the region made their position almost untenable. Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī was the first to accept Mughal inducements in 1592-93, when he found that during his absence on a hunting expedition, Zamīndāwar had been seized by Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā. In 1595 Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā himself found the squeeze on him from the Uzbeks and the Mughals too hard to bear. Preferring to make terms with the Mughals, he handed over the possession of Qandahār to them. Both the brothers arrived at Akbar's court with a large retinue. On their arrival they were welcomed and escorted to the Emperor by important nobles like Āṣaf Khān, ʿAbdur Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, Mirzā Jānī Beg, Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka and Zain Khān Kokaltāsh.[1] Mirzā Rustam was granted a manṣab of 5000/1500, and Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain that

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1. A.A.A. I, pp. 478-487; A.N., III, pp. 645-46, 670-71.

of 5000/4000. They were assigned jāgīrs in Multan, Baluchistan and Sambhal. Mirzā Rustam was also appointed as ṣūbedār of Multan; Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain was honoured with the title of Farzand.[1]

The reception and the high ranks (for 5,000 zāt under Akbar was an exceptional one) directly granted to the two brothers needs some explanation. The Akbarnāma says that Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī was granted the manṣab of 5000 zāt and a cash award of one kror of tankās together with a large jāgīr in order to persuade Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain Ṣafavī to join Mughal service.[2] When the latter arrived he was also awarded equal zāt rank but was given a larger sawār rank of 4000 sawār.[3] The sawār rank was higher than that of Mirzā Rustam, because Muẓaffar Ḥusain had handed over such an important region as Qandahār and Zamīndāwar to the Mughals, while Mirzā Rustam had come empty-handed. But the honour accorded to the two Mirzās probably went farther than the matter of Qandahār, important as it was. The Mughals had an inward sense of respect for the status of the Ṣafavid rulers, and it was seen as a great elevation of Mughal prestige if members of the Ṣafavid house could be

1. A.N. III, pp. 646, 671.
M.U.,III, 296-302; 435-37.

2. A.N. III, 646; Āīn-i-Akbarī, Blochmann (tr.), p. 329; M.U., III, 438.

3. M.U., III, 296-302.

brought into Mughal service. Thus not only were the Qandahār Mirzās accorded high ranks, but marriages of their daughters and grand-daughters with Mughals readily acceded to. The Ṣafavid family continued to enjoy high prestige at the Mughal court in later times also. When in the 48th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (i.e. 1703-4 AD) Mirzā ʿAlī Naqī Ṣafavī, a grand-son (by daughter) of Shāh ʿAbbās II arrived at Surat, he was paid 5000/- Rupees from the treasury of the Surat Port as Travelling allowance, and upon his arrival at the Mughal court he was granted a manṣab of 3000/1000. He was also appointed as 3rd Bakhshī.[1] Later, in the 50th R.Y. (i.e. 1706-1707 AD) his nephew Muḥammad Muḥsin came from Irān and did homage to the Mughal court.[2] But he is not found to have been awarded any rank or office.

After its arrival the family of the Qandahār Mirzās established matrimonial relations with many important Irānian families and also succeeded in marrying many of their daughters with Mughal Princes. The only daughter of Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain, Qandahārī Maḥal, was married to Prince Khurram.[3] Mirzā Rustam's two daughters

1. M.A., p. 497; K.K., II, p.572.

2. Ibid., p.513.

3. Lāhorī, I (a), pp. 389-90.

were married to Prince Sultān Parvez, the son of Jahāngīr[1] and Prince Shāh Shujā', the son of Shāhjahān[2]. Prince Aurangzeb married Dilras Bāno Begum, the daughter of Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī, son of Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī.[3] The other daughters of Shāhnawāz Khān were married to Princes Murād Bakhsh and Shāh Shujā'.[4] In the reign of Aurangzeb also many princes took brides from this family.[5]

Besides these marriages in the royal family there were a few Irānian families of the highest status with which the house of the Mirzās of Qandahār established marriage alliances. These were the families of 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i Khānān, Islām Khān Mashhadī, Mīr Mīrān Yazdī and Shamsuddin Mukhtār Khān of Sabzwār.[6] Two of Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān's daughters were married with Mirzā Muhammad Aṣālat Khān[7] and Mirzā Mu'iz Mūsvī Khān,[8]

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1. M.J., III, p. 438.
2. Lāhorī, I (a), pp. 32-33.
3. Ṣādiq Khān, ff. 43(b)-44(a); see also K.K., II, pp. 12, 63.
4. Lāhorī II, pp.304-305; Ṣādiq Khān, ff. 55(b), 1 7(a).
5. See Appendix-A, Genealogical Chart.
6. Ibid. Nos. 27, 32, 40, 45, 48 & 49.
7. 'Azīm, p. 333; M.U., I, pp. 222-25.
8. [illegible], p. 337; M.U., III, pp. 633-36; [illegible].

both belonging to highly respected Saiyid families of Mashhad. Aṣālat Khān's father Mirzā Badīʿ was one of the great Saiyids of Mashhad and his ancestors had been the guardians of the shrine of Imām ʿAlī Ibn Mūsā, the eighth Imām. Mirzā Aṣālat Khān came to India in 1646 and received the rank of 1000/400.[1] Mirzā Muʿiz Mūsvī Khān's father Mirzā Fakhrā was a Mūsvī Saiyid of Qum and his mother was a daughter of Mīr Muḥammad Zamān, a great Saiyid of Mashhad. He reached India in the 14th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (i.e. 1671-72) and received a suitable rank.[2]

Connections with the great house of Iʿtimād-ud Daula too were established in due course. Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān Ṣafavī's wife Shahzāda Begum was the daughter of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī from Ṣāliha Bāno Begum, the daughter of Āṣaf Khān. A daughter of Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī was married to Shamsuddīn Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī whose mother Nauras Bāno was a grand-daughter of Iʿtimād-ud Daula[3]. Mīr Maḥmūd ʿAqīdat Khān a brother of Aṣālat Khān was married to Kābulī Begum, a grand-daughter of

1. Lāhorī, II, p.509; Z.Kh., III, p.100.

2. M.U. III, pp. 633-36. On account of their not being of Ṣafavid origin their ranks and offices have not been taken into account by us alongwith those of the Ṣafavid Mirzās of Qandahār.

3. See ante Section I, P. 230.

Shāista Khān (and a daughter of Rūḥullah Khān I).[1]

It is interesting to note that the family of Sām Mirzā, a son of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī is first noticed in the reign of Shāhjahān. When exactly this family migrated from Irān is not known. From the Akbarnāma however, it transpires that Mīr ʿĀrif Ardbelī, a son of Sām Mirzā, came to Lahore sometime during the reign of Akbar[2] who perhaps, says Lāhorī, offered him some office which he did not accept owing to his mystic disposition.[3] Mīr ʿĀrif's son Mīr ʿAbdullah has been repeatedly mentioned as recipient of cash awards.[4] In 1652 he was allowed to proceed to Lahore after being granted cash inʿām of Rs.5000.[5] In 1653 he appears to have been given a khilʿat and the charge of Lahore[6]. This suggests that Mīr ʿAbdullah had joined imperial service and could be entrusted with a responsible office.

During Aurangzeb's reign Mīr ʿAbdullah's son Mīr Muḥammad Ṣādiq appears to have been living in

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1. M.A. 109-110, 113, 114, M.U. I, p.225.

2. A.N. III, p.749, where he appears to have been died at Lahore in 1007 AH.

3. Lāhorī, II, p.243.

4. Ibid. pp. 224, 243, 475, 628.

5. Wāris, p.196.

6. Ibid., p.214.

seclusion at Lahore. He was honoured with a khil'at and a cash award (in'ām) of Rs. 1000.[1] In 1663 again, Mīr Muḥammad Ṣādiq and his grand-son Mīr Mūsā appears to have been granted a cash award of 1,500 rupees.[2]

Returning to the Qandahār Mirzās' position as manṣabdārs a reign-wise tabulation is offered in Appendix-B, which shows the manṣabs held by members of the family from Akbar to Aurangzeb. The table contains only the highest ranks known to have been held by the Mirzās in each reign instead of giving a long year-wise record of manṣab-promotions. The manṣabs of those who died or retired in a particular period have not been excluded because making a periodical account of the manṣabs in the hands of the family is the only purpose of the table and not a comparison of the Mirzās' position with that of other families. It may also be noted that there are two other Ṣafavī Mirzās who appear in the table, but whose relationship with the Ṣafavī Mirzās of Qandahār is not established and has only been presumed here. These are Khwāja Beg Mirzā Ṣafavī and his nephew and adopted son Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār Khān.[3]

1. Kāẓim., p. 215.

2. Ibid., p.818.

3. Tuzuk, pp. 112, 229; Z.kh., II, p. 261; M.U., II, p. 427.

The table reveals that till the end of Aurangzeb's reign four generations of the Mirzās had continuously been in active service and that they continued to enjoy a high position in the empire. In the first generation the two Mirzās - Mirzā Rustam and Mirzā Muẓaffar - held a <u>manṣab</u> of 5000/1500 and 5000/4000 respectively.[1] The other two younger brothers - Mirzā Abū Sa'īd and Mirzā Sanjar died in 1596-97, they held a rank of 350/<u>ẕāt</u> each.[2] Soon afterwards the rank of Mirzā Muẓaffar was resumed on account of certain complaints against him.[3] In the second generation, out of nine Ṣafavid Mirzās three were holding the rank of 5000/5000.[4] Among the Qandahārīs except for Mirzā Ḥaider, a son of Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain, all the sons of Mirzā Rustam held the rank of 1000 <u>ẕāt</u> and above. The third generation during Shāhjahān's reign was holding, numerically as well as in terms of <u>manṣabs</u>, the highest position as out of 14 total members of the family, including Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār <u>Kh</u>ān, three held the rank of 5000/5000.[5] Of the rest seven held

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1. <u>A.N</u>. III, 646, 671; <u>Tuzuk</u>, p.111; <u>Z.Kh</u>.I, p.99.
2. <u>Āīn</u> (tr.), op. cit. pp. 328, 555; <u>M.U</u>. III, 441.
3. <u>A.N</u>. III, pp.711-12, 743; <u>M.U</u>., III, 302.
4. Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī 5000/5000; <u>Kh</u>wāja Beg Mirzā Ṣafavī 5000/<u>ẕāt</u> and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār <u>Kh</u>ān 5000/5000.
5. Shāhnawāz <u>Kh</u>ān held 5000/5000 (2-3h).

ranks of 1000 ẕāt and above.[1] Under Aurangzeb the fourth generation of the Mirzās among manṣabdārs appears to have declined both numerically and in terms of ranks held. During the fifty years of the reign there were only eleven members of the family known to have been in service. Of these, except one, Muḥammad Aḥsan, a son of Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī, who held the rank of 700/300, all held manṣabs above 1000 ẕāt. Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī held 6000/6000 (5000x2-3h) and Murād Kām Ṣafavī 5000/3000.[2] But Shāhnawāz Khān lost his life in 1659 after he joined Dārā Shukoh. During the fifty years of Aurangzeb's reign the total manṣabs in the hands of the Mirzās (taking the highest held by each) totalled 30,200/18,500 (5000x2-3h) while during the thirty years' reign of Shāhjahān the Mirzās' total manṣabs amounted to 31,200/24,200 (5000x2-3h).[3]

Lastly, a few words may be offered on the offices held by the Mirzās during the period. Information on this is brought together in Appendix-C. The tables showing incumbents are mainly based on contemporary

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1. See Appendix-B, under Shāhajahān.
2. See Appendix-B, under Aurangzeb.
3. See Appendix-B.

chronicles of respective periods, supplemented by the Zakhirat-ul Khawanin and Ma'asir-ul Umara. The tables contain information for those years only in which appointments on various posts of the Mirzas are recorded. The tables suggest that a large number of offices like ṣūbedār, faujdār, Diwān, Qil'adār, Qarāwalbegi, Qaushbegi, Qūrbegi and thānedāris were held by the members of the family besides being sent on various important military expeditions in the Deccan and the North-west.[1] But throughout the period only Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavi and his son Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavi are known to have been appointed as ṣūbedār (Governor) of different provinces; none of his other sons or even grand-sons was ever assigned this office. It is certainly curious that the office of ṣūbedār of any province was never given in the family of Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain Ṣafavi right from the time of Akbar. It was towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign that Mirzā Ṣadruddin Muḥammad Ṣafavi, a great-grandson of Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain was appointed ṣūbedār of Khāndesh in 1701;[2] and he was apparently the last of the Ṣafavids in India known to have attained distinction.[3] Mostly the Mirzās are found to

1. See Appendix-C.

2. M.A. p.433; M.U. III, 692.

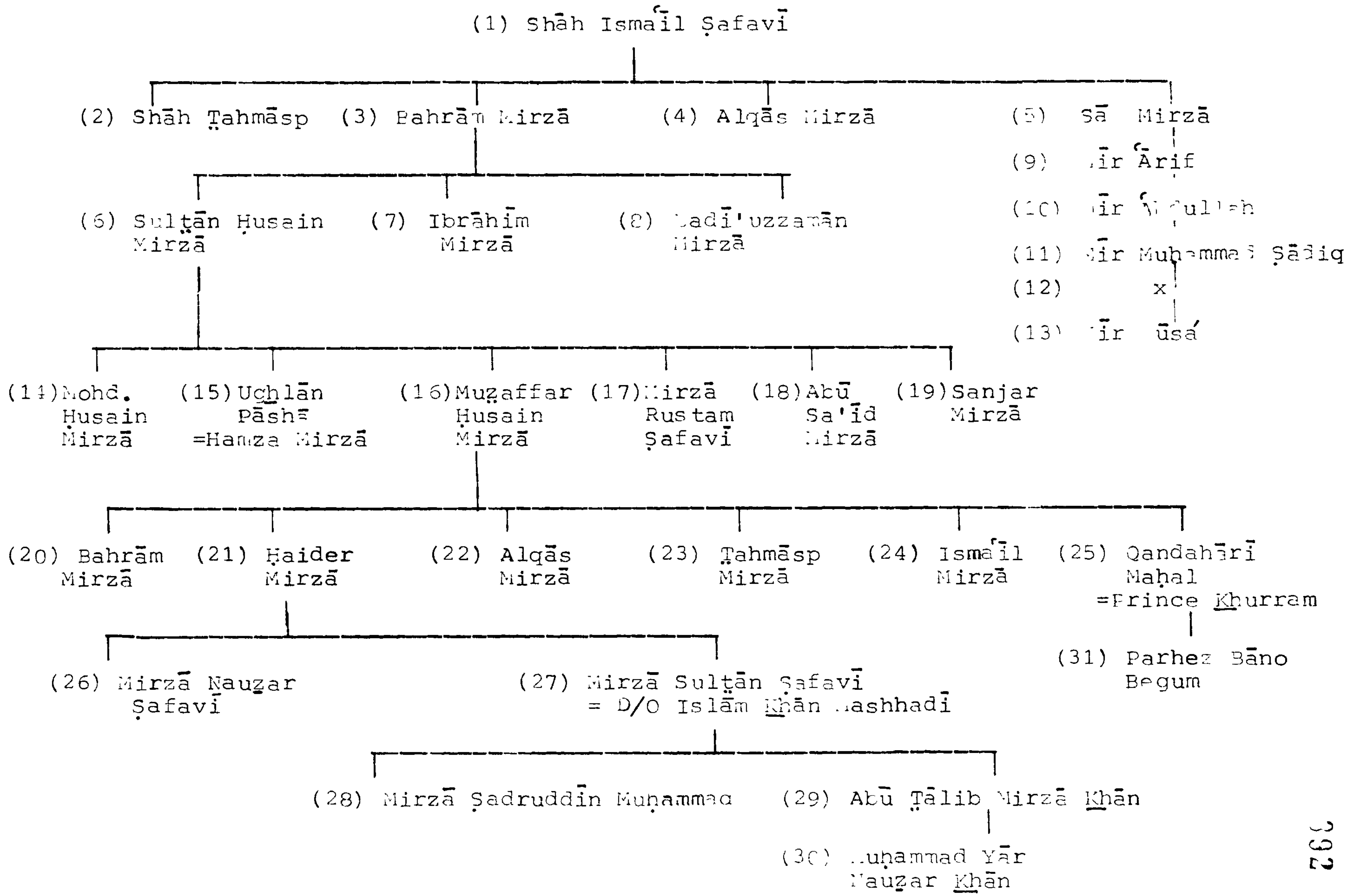
3. M.U. III, p. 692.

have been assigned the post of faujdār of different sarkārs in the empire. In the reign of Jahāngir Mirzā Hasan Safavi, a son of Mirzā Rustam Safavi held the post of Diwān of Gujarat in 1617.[1] He was afterwards sent to the Deccan.[2] The rather junior posts of Qarāwalbegi (chief huntsman), Qaushbegi (chief Falconer) and Qurbegi (Incharge of the royal standards), were granted to them during Shāhjahān's reign for a long period.[3] Similarly, the office of 2nd Bakhshi, one of the important central offices of the empire, is found for the first time to have been assigned in the fourth generation towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign.[4] In the same period the office of ʿArz-i Mukarrar (officer in charge of presenting orders for confirmation) was held by Mir Muʿazzam Siyādat Khān, a son of Shāhnawāz Khān Safavi; it was taken away from him in 1687-88.[5]

It may, therefore, be inferred that barring a few persons the Qandahār Mirzās in general did not enjoy

1. Tuzuk, pp. 186-245.
2. Ibid., p.288.
3. See Appendix-C, Table-C Offices held by the Mirzās under Shāhjahān.
4. Ibid., Table-D, Nos. 15-18.
5. M.A., p. 314.

much influence in the counsels of the empire and slowly slipped into medium ranking nobles. None of the following important central offices like Dīwān, Mīr Bakhshī, Mīr Sāmān, Mīr Ātish, Mīr Tuzuk and Ākhtabegī were assigned to them. It appears that in spite of their being related to the royal Ṣafavid family of Irān, the Mirzās were not entrusted with important Central offices and were not given a very high position in the nobility. It was, however, characteristic of the Mughal system that the family, once established, would continue to claim manṣabs and some status generation after generation (four generations having been studied by us).


(1) Shāh Ismaʿīl Ṣafavī
(2) Shāh Ṭahmāsp
(3) Bahrām Mirzā
(4) Alqās Mirzā
(5) Sā Mirzā
(9) Mir ʿĀrif
(11) Mir Muhammad Ṣādiq
(12) x
(6) Sulṭān Husain Mirzā
(7) Ibrāhīm Mirzā
(14) Mohd. Husain Mirzā
(15) Uchlān Pāshā =Hamza Mirzā
(16) Muẓaffar Husain Mirzā
(17) Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī
(18) Abū Sa'īd Mirzā
(19) Sanjar Mirzā
(20) Bahrām Mirzā
(21) Haider Mirzā
(22) Alqās Mirzā
(23) Ṭahmāsp Mirzā
(24) Ismaʿīl Mirzā
(25) Qandahārī Mahal =Prince Khurram
(31) Parhez Bāno Begum
(26) Mirzā Nauzar Ṣafavī
(27) Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī = D/O Islām Khān Mashhadī
(28) Mirzā Ṣadruddīn Muhammad
(29) Abū Ṭālib Mirzā Khān

APPENDIX-A contd.

- (17) Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī
  - (32) Mirzā Murād Iltifāt Khān =D/O 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān
    - (43) Murād Kām Ṣafavī
      - (44) Mirzā Rustam
        - (47) Saiyid-un Nisā' Begum = Prince Mu'izuddīn s/o Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
      - (45) D. = Mīr Ni'matullah s/o Mīr Ẓahīr-uddīn
      - (46) D. = Prince Mu'izuddīn s/o Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
  - (33) Mirzā Badī'uzzamān Shāhnawāz Khān =Nauras Bāno Begum
  - (34) Mirzā Ḥasan
    - (48) Ṣaf Shikan Khān =Shahzāda Begum D/o Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II
      - (49) Saifuddīn Ṣafavī Kāmyāb Khān = D/O Khalīlullah Khān Yazdī II
      - (50) Mīr Muḥammad Nāṣir Nuṣrat Khān, Ṣafavī Khān
  - (35) Multafat Khān
  - (36) Suhrāb Khān
  - (37) Shāhrukh
  - (38) Ibrāhīm
  - (39) Khushhāl (adopted)
  - (40) D = Shamsuddīn Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī
    - (51) Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān = D/O Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān
  - (41) D = Prince Sulṭān Parvez s/o Jahāngīr
  - (42) D = Prince Shāh Shujā'
    - (52) Dilband Bāno Begum

APPENDIX-A contd.

(33) Mirzā Badī'uzzamān Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī = Mauras Bāno Begum

- (53) Mīr Ma'ṣūm Ma'ṣūm Khān
  - (65) D = Mīr Muḥammad Taqī Sādāt Khān s/o Sādāt Khān
    - (66) Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī Farzand Khān.
- (54) Mīr Mu'aẓẓam Siyādat Khān Mu'aẓẓam Khān
  - (62) Āzarm Bāno = Prince Mohd. Kām Bakhsh s/o Aurangzeb
  - (63) Akram Khān
  - (64) D. = Mirzā ʿAlī Naqī Ṣafavī Khān
- (55) Mohd. Aḥsān
- (56) D. = Aṣālat Khān s/o Mirzā Badī' Mashhadī
- (57) Dilras Bāno Begum = Prince Aurangzeb
  - (67) Zeb-un-Nisā'
  - (68) Zīnat-un Nisā'
  - (69) Zubdat-un Nisā' = Prince Sipahr Shukoh s/o Dārā Shukoh
  - (70) Prince ʿĀẓam
  - (71) Prince Akbar
- (58) D. = Mīr Ṣāliḥ
- (59) D. = Prince Murād Bakhsh
  - (60) D = Prince Shāh Shujāʿ
  - (61) D. = Mirzā Muʿiz 'Fiṭrat' Mūsvī Khān s/o Mirzā Fakhrā

References to the Genealogical Chart

:	indicates	'father of'
+	"	'brother/sister of'
=	"	'husband/wife of'
÷	"	'grandson of'
d/o	"	'daughter of'
s/o	"	'son of'

Numbers prefacing the names of persons in the chart	Sources
1 : 2,3,4,5	A.A.A. I,44
3 : 6,7,8	A.A.A.I,136
5 : 9	A.N. III,749; Lāhorī II, 243
9 : 10	Lāhorī II,224,243,475
10: 11	Kāẓim,215-16
13+ 11	Kāẓim,818
6 : 14,15,16,17,18,19	A.A.A.I,136,478;A.N. III, 645.
15 = Sulṭān Ḥamza Mirzā	A.A.A.I,136
16 : 20,21,24	A.A.A.I,487;MU.III,301-303
16 : 22,23	M.U.III,301-302.
16 : 25;25=Prince Khurram:31	Kāmgār Ḥusainī's Ma'āṣir-i Jahāngīrī,125,133,138; Lāhorī I(a),389-90; M.A.,147.
16 : 21;21:26	Lāhorī I(b),176;T.M. II,30;M.U.III,581.
21 : 27;27:28	T.M.II,30;M.U.III,692.
27 : 29;29:30	T.M. 113.
27 = d/o Islām Khān Mashhadī	T.M.II,30;M.U.III,581.
28 ÷ Islām Khān Mashhadī	T.M.II,30.

26 + 27	M.U.III, 581.
17 + 18,19	A.A.A.I,136;A.N. III,645.
17 : 32,34,37,38	A.N.III,646;Lāhorī I(a),184,205; Tuzuk,146,167.
17 : 33	Tuzuk,321,401.
17 : 35	Tuzuk,381
17 : 36	Tuzuk,147,260,293-94.
17 : 39 (Adopted son)	Lāhorī I(b),322;II,745;Ṣāliḥ III, 479.
17 : 40;40=Shamsuddīn Mukhtār Khān Sabzwāri	T.M.II,26.
Shamsuddīn Mukhtār Khān: 51 = d/o Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān	T.M., 26.
17 : 41;41=Prince Parvez	M.U.III,438.
17 : 42;42=Prince Shujāʻ	Lāhorī I(b),32-33;II,137-38; Ṣādiq Khān f.25(b).
Prince Shujāʻ:52	Lāhorī II,137-38;Ṣādiq Khān f.25(b).
32=d/o ʻAbdur Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān	M.U. III, 439-40.
32 : 43	Lāhorī II,315;M.U.III,583.
43 : 44;44:47;47 = Prince Muʻizuddin	M.A.,247; M.U.III,586.
43 + 17	Lāhorī II,374; Wāriṣ,147.
43 : 45;45=Mīr Niʻamatullah	Lāhorī II,374;Wāriṣ,147; Kāẓim,287.
43 : 46;46=Prince Muʻizuddīn	M.A.,152;M.U.III,586
34 : 48;48=Shāhzāda Begum d/o Mīr Mīrān	Lāhorī II,485;Wāriṣ,36;M.U.III, 478-79.
48 : 49;49 = d/o Khalīlu-llah Khān Yazdī	Kāẓim.,663; M.U.III,479.

48 : 50; 50 ÷ 34	T.M. II, 63.
33 = Nauras Bāno Begum	M.A. 109, K.K.II, 75; Cf. Ṣādiq Khān, f. 109(a) mentions as Yurish Bāno; also f Kāẓim 420, mentions as Nawāzish Bāno Begum.
33 : 53, 54, 55	Kāẓim 51, 209, 333.
53 : 65	T.M. II, 35.
65 = Mīr Muḥammad Taqī Sādāt Khān	T.M. II,35.
Mīr Muḥammad Taqī Sādāt Khān:66; 66 ÷ 53	T.M. II, 35.
33 : 54	Kāẓim, 333; T.M.II, 10.
33 : 54; 54:62	M.A.,225; T.M. II, 130.
62 = Prince Kām Bakhsh	M.A. 225; T.M. II, 130.
33 : 54; 54:63	T.M. II, 25.
54 : 64; 64 = Mirzā ʿAlī Naqī	T.M. II, 23.
33 : 56; 56=Aṣālat Khān	Kāẓim, 333; M.U. I, 222-25.
33 : 57;57 = Prince Aurangzeb	Ṣādiq Khān, ff.43(b)-44(a); K.K. II, 12, 63.
33 : 58; 58 = Mīr Ṣāliḥ	Kāẓim, 45, 864.
33 : 59; 59 = Prince Murād Bakhsh	Lāhorī II, 304-5; Ṣādiq Khān, f.55(b); K.K. II, 12,63.
33 : 60; 60 = Prince Shujāʿ	Ṣādiq Khān f.107(a) About this marriage all other authorities are silent.
33 : 61; 61 = Mirzā Muʿiz Musavī Khān	M.A.,337; T.M. II,2; M.U.III, 633-36.
57 = Prince Aurangzeb	Lāhorī I(b), 243; II,22.
Prince Aurangzeb:67,68	Lāhorī II,22,343;Ṣāliḥ II, 268-69,391; T.M. II,15,42,102.

Prince Aurangzeb: 69;69= Prince Sipahr Shukoh S/o Dārā Shukoh	T.M. II, 20.
Prince Aurangzeb:70	T.M. II, 10.
Prince Aurangzeb:71	Faruki; Aurangzeb & His Times, Delhi, 1972, p.544.

APPENDIX - B

POSITION OF THE MIRZĀS AS MANSABDĀRS

S.No.	Name & Title	Rank	Reference
		AKBAR	
1.	Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	5000/1500	A.N. III, 646; Tuzuk, 111.
2.	Mirzā Muzaffar Husain	5000/4000	A.N. III, 671.
3.	Mirzā Abū Sa'īd	350/X	Āin 328, 555; M.U. III, 441.
4.	Mirzā Sanjar	350/X	Āin 328, 555; M.U. III, 441.
		JAHĀNGĪR	
1.	Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	5000/5000	Tuzuk, 111.
2.	Mirzā Murād Iltifāt Khān s/o Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	2000/800	M.U. III, 583.
3.	Badī'uzzamān Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī S/o Mirzā Rustam	Amir 500/200	M.U. II, 670; Tuzuk, 321
4.	Mirzā Hasan S/o Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	1500/700	Tuzuk, 369; Lāhorī I, 184; MU III, 477
5.	Multafat Khān s/o Mirzā Rustm Ṣafavī	1500/300	Tuzuk 381.
6.	Suhrāb Khān s/o Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	1000/400	Tuzuk, 147.
7.	Mirzā Haider s/o Mirzā Muzaffar Husain	500/150	Lāhorī I, 185; M.U. III, 555.
8.	Khwāja Beg Mirzā Ṣafavī	5000/X	Tuzuk, 112, 229.
9.	Muhammad Ṣālih Sipahdār Khān N/O & adopted son of Khwāja Beg Mirzā Ṣafavī	5000/5000	Iqbālnāma, 235, 299; Z.Kh. II, 261-62.

APPENDIX-B contd.

SHĀHJAHĀN

1.	Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	5000/5000 (Retired)*	Lāhorī I,205
2.	Mirzā Murād Iltifāt Khān	2500/100	Lāhorī II,317
3.	Mirzā Badī'uzzamān Shāhnawāz Khān	5000/5000(2-3h)	Ṣāliḥ III,261
4.	Mirzā Hasan Ṣafavī	3000/3000	Wāriṣ 71, 130
5.	Mirzā Haider s/o Muzaffar Husain Ṣafavī	1000/200	Lāhorī I(b) 311
6.	Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī s/o Mirzā Haider Ṣafavī	3000/1500	Wāriṣ,365;Ṣāliḥ III, 236,455
7.	Mirzā Nauzar s/o Mirzā Haider Ṣafavī	4000/3000	Wāriṣ,72,133.
8.	Ṣaf Shikan Khān s/o Mirzā Hasan Ṣafavī	2000/100	Lāhorī II,583-84; Ṣāliḥ III,459.
9.	Khushhāl adopted son of Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	600/400	Ṣāliḥ,III,479.
10.	Mīr Ma'ṣūm s/o Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	500/400	Apparatus, S 5651.
11.	Mīr Mu'aẓẓam s/o Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	500/500	Ṣāliḥ,III,482
12.	Mīr Ṣāliḥ N/O Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī	900/200	Wāriṣ 235.
13.	Mirzā Murād Kam Mukarram Khān Ṣafavī s/o Mirzā Murād Iltifāt Khan	3000/3000	Ṣāliḥ III 247,454.
14.	Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār Khān	5000/500**	Lāhorī II,378,720
	Total :	31,000/24,200 (5000x2-3h)	

* M. Athar Ali, Apparatus of Empire, Op. Cit., p.103, gives 6000/6000 which is not found on the pages he has referred to.

** Excluded.

APPENDIX-B contd.

AURANGZEB

1.	Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavi	6000/6000 (5000x2-3h)	Died, Kāẓim, 209.
2.	Murād Kam Ṣafavī	5000/3000	Kāẓim, 981.
3.	Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān	2000/1000	M.U. III 478-79
4.	Saifuddīn Ṣafavī Kāmyāb Khān s/o Ṣaf Shikan Khān	1500/700	Kāẓim, 870
5.	Mirzā Sulṭān s/o Mirzā Ḥaider Ṣafavī	4000/3000	Kāẓim, 976
6.	Mirzā Ṣadruddīn Ṣafavī s/o Mirzā Sulṭān	3000/1050	M.A. 472, M.U. III, 692.
7.	Mirzā Ma'ṣūm s/o Shāhnawāz Khān	2000/1250	Kāẓim, 333
8.	Mīr Mu'aẓẓam Siyādat Khān s/o Shāhnawāz Khān	1500/700	Kāẓim, 333-34
9.	Muḥammad Aḥsān s/o Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	700/300	Kāẓim, 334
10.	(*) Mīr Ṣāliḥ S/L Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	1500/500	Kāẓim, 334
11.	Mīr 'Alī Naqī Mirzā Ṣafavī Khān S/I Mīr Mu'aẓẓam Khān Ṣafavi	3000/1000	M.A. 482
	Total :	30,200/18,500 (5000x2-3h)	

(*) Apparently the same person as above (No.14) under Shāhjahān.

APPENDIX - C

OFFICES HELD BY THE MIRZĀS

A - UNDER AKBAR

S.No.	Year A.H./A.D.	Name & Title	Offices	References
1.	1002/1593-94	Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Multan; Jāgīr in Multan, Baluchistan etc.	A.N.III,646; Z.Kh.I, 99.
2.	1003/1594-95	Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain Ṣafavī	Jāgīr in Sambhal,	A.N.III,671.
3.	1007/1598-99	Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	Jāgīr in Rāisin	A.N.III,p.749;
4.	1008/1599-1600	Mirza Rustam Safavi	An an auxiliary in the Deccan with Prince Dāniyāl in the siege of Ahmadnagar.	Tuzuk,9,110

B - UNDER JAHĀNGĪR

S.No.	Year A.H./A.D.	Name & Title	Offices	References
1.	1021/1612-13	Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Thatta	Tuzuk,111,128; Z.Kh.I,99-100
2.	1026/1616-17	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī s/o Mirzā Rustam	Dīwān of Gujarat	Tuzuk,186.
3.	1027/1617-18	-do-	-do-	Ibid.
4.	" "	Mohd. Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār Khān, Khanjar Khān	Qilādār Ahmadnagar	Tuzuk,229;Z.Kh.II, 261.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

5.	1028/1618-19 Till 1037/1627-28	Mohd. Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār Khān, Khanjar Khān	Qil'adār Ahmadnagar	Tuzuk,283,
		-do-	-do-	Lāhorī I,76.
6.	1028/1618-19	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Appointed in the Deccan probably as Diwān.	Tuzuk,288
7.	1032/1622-23	Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Allahabad	Tuzuk,373; I.J.,384.
8.	" "	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Faujdār Bahraich	Tuzuk,369.
9.	1035/1625-26 Till	Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār, Bihar	Tuzuk,413; I.J.,463.
	1037/1627-28	-do-	-do-	Lāhorī I, 125.

C - UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

1.	1038/1628-29	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	As an auxiliary in Bengal.	Lāhorī I,205,253-54.
2.	1041/1631-32	Mohd. Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār Khān	Qil'adār Ahmadnagar	Lāhorī I,399; A.U.II,428.
3.	1042/1632-33	Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān	Faujdār Suburbs of Agra.	Lāhorī I,476.
4.	1043/1633-34 Till	-do-	Qaushbegi	Lāhorī,I(b),16.
	1049/1639-40	-do-	-do-	Ibid.II,183.
5.	1044/1634-35	Mohd. Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār Khān	Ṣūbedār Gujarat	Lāhorī I(b),7,8,85, Z.Kh.II,262.
			Qil'adār Ahmadnagar (A.C.)	Lāhorī I(b),7,8,85, Z.Kh.II,262.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

6.	1045/1635-36	Mohd. Ṣāliḥ Sipahdār Khān	Faujdār Ilichpur	Z.Kh.II,262;M.U. II,428-29.
7.	1047/1637-38 Till 1054/1644-45	-do-	Qil'adār of Junair	M.J. II,429.
		-do-	Died (A.C.)	Lāhorī,II,379; M.U.II,429.
8.	1047/1637-38	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Faujdār Miyān-i Doāb	Lāhorī II,91.
9.	1048/1638-39	Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī	Qūrbegī	Lāhorī II,135.
10.	" "	-do-	Qarāwalbegī	Lāhorī II,143.
			Qūrbegī (A.C.)	Ibid.
11.	" "	Ṣaf Shikan Khān	Qūrbegī	Lāhorī II,143.
12.	1049/1639-40	Mirzā Nauzar Ṣafavī	Faujdār Koil	Lāhorī II,157.
13.	" "	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Faujdār Miyān-i Doāb (A.C.)	Lāhorī II,163-64.
			Tuyūldār of Pargana Jalesar	Ibid.
14.	" "	Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī	Qarāwalbegī (A.C.)	Lāhorī II,179.
15.	" "	Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān	Ṣūbedār Orissa; Qaush-begī (A.C.)	Lāhorī II, 183.
16.	1050/1640-41	Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī	Qarāwalbegī (Twice)	Lāhorī II, 204.
17.	" "	Ṣaf Shikan Khān	Qūrbegī (A.C.)	Lāhorī II, 218.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

18.	1051/1641-42	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Qilādār Pethān	Lāhorī, II, 273.
19.	" "	Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Orissa (A.C.); Faujdār Jaunpur	Lāhorī II, 283, 332.
20.	1054/1644-45	Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī	Qaushbegī	Lāhorī II, 335.
21.	1055/1645-46	Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī	As an auxiliary in the Deccan with Islām Khān Mashhadī.	Lāhorī II, 430; M.U. III, 581.
22.	" "	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Faujdār Fatḥpūr and Biyāna; Jāgīrdār Fatḥpūr & Biyāna	Lāhorī II, 431.
23.	1055/1645-46	Ṣaf Shikan Khān	On Balkh and Badakhshān expedition with Prince Murād Bakhsh.	Lāhorī II, 485-86.
24.	" "	Mirzā Nauzar Ṣafavī	Qaushbegī; Com. of Altamash in Balkh & Badakhshān	Lāhorī II, 470, 486.
25.	1056/1646-47	Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān	Ṣūbedār Malwa; Faujdār Jaunpur (AC)	Lāhorī II, 583.
26.	" "	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Faujdār Jaunpur	Lāhorī II, 584; M.U. III, 478.
27.	1057/1647-48	Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī	Qūrbegī	Wāriṣ, 3.
28.	" "	Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Malwa & Deccan	Wāriṣ, 17

APPENDIX-C Contd.

29.	1057/1647-48	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Deputed in Bengal	Wāriṣ, 38.
30.	1058/1648-49	Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Malwa (A.C.) Deputy Ṣūbedār Deccan of Prince Murād Bakhsh	Wāriṣ, 62-63.
31.	" "	Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī	Thānadār Kuch	Wāriṣ, 71; M.U.III 478.
32.	1059/1649-50	-do-	Died (A.C.)	Wāriṣ, 130, 137-38.
33.	" "	Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Malwa (Twice)	Wāriṣ, 126; Ṣāliḥ III, 103
			Conquered Deogarh	Z.Kh.II, 216-17; M.U.II, 670-76
34.	1059/1649-50	Ṣaf Shikan Khān	Faujdār and Thānadār Jessore*	M.U.III, 478;
35.	1060/1650-51	Mirzā Nauzar Ṣafavī	Faujdār Māndu; Tuyūldār of Bahraich	Wāriṣ, 133, M.U.III 556.
36.	" " Till	Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī	Qūrbegī	Apparatus, S 5285.
	1067/1656-57	-do-	Qūrbegī (A.C.)	Wāriṣ, 365.
37.	1060/1650-51	Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī	Faujdār Lucknow & Baiswara	Apparatus, S 5284.
38.	1061/1651-52	-do-	Faujdār Jaunpur; Baiswara (A.C.)	Wāriṣ, 147-48
	Till 1070/1659-60	-do-	Faujdār Jaunpur (A.C.)	Kāẓim, 477.

* Ḥasar in the text is apparently a mistake for Jessore.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

39.	1063/1652-53	Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Awadh; Tuyūldār of Gorakhpur & Bahraich	Wāriṣ, 197, 207
40.	1064/1653-54	Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān	Thānadār Jessore * (A.C.)	Wāriṣ, 250; M.U. III 478.
41.	1068/1658	Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Gujarat	E.F.I. X, 162.

D- UNDER AURANGZEB

1.	1069/1658-59	Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Ṣūbedār Ahmadabad	Kāẓim, 209; K.K. II, 45
2.	" "	Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī	Faujdār Dhāmunī & Churāgarh	Kāẓim, 218
3.	" "	Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī	Faujdār Jaunpur	Kāẓim, 215, 263-64, 287; Ṣādiq Khān f. 106(b).
4.	" "	Mirzā Nauzar Ṣafavī	Under Retirement with an annual Allowance of Rupees Forty Thousand	Kāẓim, 206
5.	1070/1659-60	Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī	Faujdār Awad; Faujdār Jaunpur (A.C.)	Kāẓim, 477.
6.	1070/1659-60	Ma'aṣūm Khān S/o Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Qūrbegī	Kāẓim, 852-53 (A.C.)
7.	1077/1666-67	Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī	Sent on Kabul Expedition with Prince Mu'aẓẓam	Kāẓim. 976; M.U. III 582-83

* Khaiber in the text is apparently a mistake for Jessore.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

8.	1078/1667-68	Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī	Deputed in Deccan with Prince Mu'aẓẓam	Kāẓim. 1038; M.U.III,583.
9.	1088/1677-78	Saifuddīn Ṣafavī Kāmyāb Khān s/o Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān	Faujdār Sahāranpūr	M.A. 158.
10.	1094/1684	Ṣadruddīn Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān S/o Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī	Faujdār Ramgir	M.A.234;M.U.III,692.
11.	?	-do-	Faujdār Irāj Bhānder (near Agra)	M.U.III 692.
12.	?	-do-	Faujdār Ponār (in ṣūba Berār)	M.U.III 692
13.	1096/1685-86	Mīr Mu'aẓẓam Siyādat Khān s/o Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī	Qaushbegī	M.A.246
14.	1112/1700-1701	Mirzā Ṣadruddīn Shāhnawāz Khān	Ṣūbedār Khāndesh	M.A.433;M.U.III 692
15.	1113/1701-02	-do-	3rd Bakhshī	M.A.439;M.U.III 692
16.	1115/1703-04	-do-	3rd Bakhshī	M.A. 472.
17.	1116/1704-05 Till 1118/1707	-do-	2nd Bakhshī	M.A. 489,503,505,514.
18.	116/1704-05	Mīr 'Ālī Naqī Mirzā Ṣafavī Khān g/s Shāh 'Abbās & S/L Mu'aẓẓam Khān Siyādat Khān Ṣafavī	3rd Bakhshī	M.A.497;K.K.II 572; M.U.III,653-54.

(b) ASAD KHĀN'S FAMILY

Asad Khān's family was a well reputed Turkmān family of the Qarāmānlū tribe.[1] His ancestors had served under the Ṣafavid rulers from Shāh Ismaʿīl's time. Bairam Beg (or Bahrām Beg)[2] was the governor (Ḥākim) of Balkh during Shāh Ismaʿīl's reign and it was he who, alongwith other Irānian generals, helped Bābur against the Uzbek Sulṭāns in the battle of Khurāsan, subsequently in the battle of Ghajdwān he lost his life fighting against the Uzbeks.[3] His son Ḥusām Beg Qarāmānlū was raised to the status of Amīr and was appointed to Ashkūr,[4] a district near Gīlān, during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.[5] His sons, Rustam Khān, Farhād Khān, Zūlfiqār Khān and Alwand Sulṭān, were also men of rank under Shāh ʿAbbās I. Rustam Khān, the eldest among them, probably held some important post at Tālish (also his native place) where on account of the

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1. Apparently a very small and insignificant tribe.

2. He was the grandfather of Zūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū (No.5) the grandfather of Asad Khān (No.13). See the Genealogical Chart in Appendix-A.

3. A.A.A., Vol. I, p. 40; also Bābarnāma, tr. (Eng.) A.S. Beveridge, Reprint Delhi, 1979, p.359.

4. Nuzhat-ul Qulūb, op.cit., pp.65-66; Cf. Hudūd-Al ʿĀlam, tr. V. Minorsky, London, 1937, p.388, reads 'Ashkavar'.

5. A.A.A., vol. I, p.113.

enmity with the nobles he was forced to settle in Shirwān, then under the Ottoman Turks. However, hostility with the Ottoman authorities soon broke out, and the Turks killed Rustam Khān alongwith his one or two brothers (names not known) and followers. Farhād Khān and his younger brothers, Ẕūlfiqār Khān and Alwand Sulṭān, escaped with their lives leaving behind one sister, two daughters of Rustam Khān and other servants and followers. In the beginning of Shāh ʿAbbās' reign they arrived in Āzarbāijān and joined the service of Shāh ʿAbbās I.[1] Farhād Khān was appointed governor of Māzandrān with Alwand Sulṭān as his deputy in 1596-97.[2] In 1598-99 he was also appointed governor of Astarābād,[3] Herāt and the Amīr-ul Umarā' of Khurāsān[4]. But in the same year he was murdered on account of a suspicion of rebellion.[5] Ẕūlfiqār Khān's younger brother Alwand Sulṭān was first appointed as governor of Langar Kanān, a city (Ulka) near Ardbīl, in 1591-92.[6] In 1596-97 he acted as deputy for his brother

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1. A.A.A., Vol. II, p. 752.
2. Ibid, vol. I, pp. 520, 542, 565; earlier he appears to have served in several battles, Ibid., pp. 404, 427-28, 433-34, 436-37, 442-445, 449-51 etc.
3. Ibid., p. 565.
4. Ibid., p. 574.
5. Ibid., I, p. 575.
6. Ibid., p. 442.

Farhād Khān in Māzandrān,[1] where in 1597-98 he joined the conspiracy of Alwand Dev, the rebel Qilʿadār of Aulād.[2] But the rebellion was soon suppressed by Farhād Khān and Alwand Sulṭān was sent to the Court where he was pardoned and made free (muṭlaq-ul ʿInān).[3] Nothing more is known about him.

Ẓūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū, the grand-father of Asad Khān, also appears to have held several appointments during Shāh ʿAbbās I's reign. He was appointed governor (Beglarbegī) of Āzarbāijān in 1591-92.[4] As it was customary in the Ṣafavid empire that Beglarbegīs alone were sent on diplomatic missions, Ẓūlfiqār Khān was sent as an envoy to the Ottoman empire in 1595-96[5] and returned in 1597-98.[6] In 1603-4 he was appointed governor (Hākim) of Ardbīl, and the same year, after the recapture of Tabriz, he was made its governor.[7] In 1606-7 the governorship (Ayālat wa Dārāī) of Shumākhī and the Amīr-ul Umarāī of the entire Shīrwān was also conferred on him.[8] During his stay in Shīrwān he defeated

1. A.A.A., 520.
2. One of the strongest forts of Tabaristān.
3. A.A.A. Vol. I, pp. 542-43.
4. Ibid., pp. 442, 492, 588.
5. Ibid., pp. 512-13.
6. Ibid., p.543.
7. Ibid., II, pp. 638, 640, 642-43.
8. Ibid., p. 733.

Ma'ṣūm Khān the governor (wālī) of Tabarsarān in 1607-8 on account of his not allowing Ẕūlfiqār Khān to construct a fortress at Shābrān near his territory to which the Khān has been deputed. However, the fortress was built and equipped with necessary provisions, and castellans (Ḥāriṣān) were posted.[1] But the next year (1608-9) some of the officers of Dāghistān and Tabaristān became agitated over the construction of the fortress. Consequently Qarchaqāi Beg, a confidential officer of the Shāh, was sent to Shīrwān with order to join Ẕūlfiqār Khān in suppressing the turbulence at Shābrān. In the meanwhile Qarchaqāi Beg received a second order from the Shāh by which Ẕūlfiqār Khān was put to death by the attendants of the Beg.[2] The author of the 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī explains that Ẕūlfiqār Khān on account of his being an important and powerful noble had become very proud of his position and perhaps had developed a kind of turbulent tendency, the signs of which were marked by the king. The other reason which he feels to be superficial was that by killing Ẕūlfiqār Khān the Shāh wanted to reconcile the officers of Dāghistān.[3]

The author of Ma'āsir-ul Umarā' says that after Ẕūlfiqār Khān's murder his family members faced hard times as the Shāh did not show them any kindness.[4] It might be true because none of the family members is found

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1. A.A.A., vol. II, pp.786-87.
2. Ibid., p.806.
3. Ibid., p.807; also M.U., vol. II, pp.86-87.
4. M.U., vol. II, p.88.

to have been taken into the royal service; even Khānlar the only known son of Zūlfiqār Khān does not find any mention in the 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī. Khānlar appears to have arrived in India, as a fugitive towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign (i.e. 1627).[1] This suggests that after his father's death Khānlar still remained in Irān for about twenty-five years. The information of the Ma'āsir-ul Umarā' therefore can not be fully accepted.

In India Khānlar married the daughter of Ṣādiq Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, brother-in-law and a cousin of Nūr Jahān's brother Āṣaf Khān.[2] He thus established matrimonial relations with the most important family in the Mughal nobility. Subsequently his children and grand children also married in this and some other important Irānian families. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān, his son, was married to the daughter of Āṣaf Khān[3] whose grand daughter (Shāista Khān's daughter) was married to Muḥammad Ismā'īl Zūlfiqār Khān, son of Asad Khān[4]. A daughter of Khānlar (later entitled Zūlfiqār

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1. Lāhorī, Vol.I (a), p. 73; also M.U., op.cit.

2. Z.Kh. vol. II, p.411; M.U. II, p.88. For Āṣaf Khān's family see Irfan Habib's article in Med. Ind. Misc. vol. I, op.cit. pp.74-95.

3. M.U. II, p.93; T.M. p.35.

4. Akhbārāt, 32 R.Y. 3 October, 1688; M.A. 158; M.U. II, 93; T.M. 31.

Khān Qarāmānlū) was married to Nāmdār Khān, son of Ja'far Khān[1] and another to prince Zainuddīn, a son of Prince Shāh Shujā'[2]. Another of Asad Khān's son 'Ināyat Khān (by Nawal Bāī) was married to a daughter of Abul Ḥasan, the ruler of Hyderabad.[3] Asad Khān's four daughters were respectively married to 'Azīzuddīn Bahrāmand Khān;[4] Iftikhār Khān Mufākhir Khān, son of Fākhir Khān Najm-i Ṣānī;[5] Khudā Banda Khān, son of Shāista Khān;[6] and Tarbiyat Khān[7]. Asad Khān's two grand daughters (by his daughter and the wife of Bahrāmand Khān) were married to Muḥammad Taqī Khān the son of Dārāb Khān Banī Mukhtār[8], a well reputed family of Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī. The other grand daughter was married to Mīr Muḥammed Mahdī entitled Mīr Khān,

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1. Kāẓim, p.439; M.A. p.27; T.M., p.8.
2. Ibid., p.493; M.U., II, p.89.
3. M.A., 312-13; M.U. I(a), 320-21; T.M., 74.
4. M.A. 461; M.U. I, 454-457; T.M., 16.
5. Kāẓim, p. 858.
6. Akhbārāt, 33 R.Y. 11 July, 1689; Cf. M.A., p.374.
7. Akhbārāt, 39th R.Y. 18 January, 1696. He was perhaps Tarbiyat Khān Mīr Ātish, son of Dārāb Khān.
8. M.A., p.221; T.M., p.90.

son of famous Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān Yazdī[1], Thus Asad Khān's family was well connected with the four important Irānian families of Ítimād-ud Daula, Bāqir Khān Najm Ṣānī, Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī and Mīr Mīrān Yazdī on the one hand and with the ruling families of Mughals and Abul Ḥasan of Hyderabad on the other.[2]

Being such a well connected family the rapid rise of its members under Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb becomes easier to explain. Further, the marriage pattern of the family in the successive generations shows that the Qarāmānlū were quite adroit in living up to their status by establishing matrimonial relations with aristocratic families. Their closest links were with the house of Ítimād-ud Daula as it appears from the genealogical chart that most of their children were married in this house. Their other known marriages, were strictly with those few Irānian families which had already established such relations with Ítimād-ud Daula. It is significant that they always married their daughters into Irānian families. The only exception was the daughter (No.14) of Zūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū

1. M.A., p.473; T.M., p.66; M.U. I, pp. 454-457.

2. See Genealogical Chart in Appendix-A.

(No.12) who was married to a Mughal prince (No.18), and this was a practically forced marriage.[1]

Two male members of the family were married to the daughters of non-Irānian families. Asad Khān's son Muḥammad Isḥāq (No.27) by a Hindu wife Nawal Bāʾī (No.17) was married to a daughter of Abūl Ḥasan, the Golkunda ruler and another son Zūlfiqār Khān (No.20) was married to Ṭāhira Begum (No.31) daughter of a Tūrānī noble Islām Khān Rūmī.[2]

After his arrival in India, but after Jahāngīr's death, Khānlar appears to have been appointed to the Central Command (qaul) along with Asad Khān against Shahryār, Nūrjahān's candidate for the throne.[3] In 1631 in the battle of Bālāghāt, against Khān Jahān Lodī and Niẓāmul Mulk, Khānlar rendered good services in the left wing of the imperial forces.[4] In 1632 he was granted the rank of 1000/600 and the next year his ancestral title of Zūlfiqār Khān[5]. In 1634 he

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1. Kāẓim, p. 493; M.U., II, 89.
2. T.M., p.72.
3. Lāhorī, Vol. I (a), pp. 72-73.
4. Ibid., pp. 405-406.
5. Ibid., p.476; Cf. Laiq Ahmad, The Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb, Allahabad, 1976, pp. 100-101 says that the title was given by Jahāngīr. He has confused him with Muḥammad Beg who was given the same title in 1614. See Tuzuk, pp. 134-135.

received his first independent appointment as Faujdār of Miyān-i Doāb being promoted to the rank of 1500/800.[1] In course of time he held many important offices like Dāroqha-i Topkhāna, Qil'adār of Lahore fort, faujdār of Mandsor and finally attained the office of ṣūbedār of Bihar and the rank of 3000/3000 in the 30th R.Y. of Shāhjahān (i.e. 1656).[2] Later, when struck with paralysis, he took to retirement and settled in Patna where he died in 1660.[3]

His eldest son Muḥammad Ibrāhīm entitled Asad Khān (Āṣaf-ud Daula Jumla-ul Mulk) started his career under Shāhjahān being first appointed as Ākhtabegī (Master of horse) in 1653 with the rank of 1500/600.[4] In 1657 he was appointed to the more important position of second Bakhshī[5] which he relinquished in the 13th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (1671) being further promoted to the office of Deputy Dīwān[6]. Subsequently the office of Mīr Bakhshī[7]

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1. Lāhorī I(b), p.101.
2. Wāriṣ, pp. 347-48.
3. Kāẓim, 439; M.A., 27; M.U. II, pp. 88-89.
4. Wāriṣ, p. 208, 211.
5. Ṣāliḥ, vol. III, p.244.
6. M.A., 103.
7. Ibid., p. 108.

was added to it. In 1676 he was exalted to the highest post of <u>wazīr</u>[1] which he held for the longest tenure in the Mughal Empire, right to the end of Aurangzeb's reign. He also then held the highest rank assignable to a noble, namely, of 7000/7000.[2]

Muhammad Ismaʿīl entitled Iʿtiqād <u>Kh</u>ān later Zūlfiqār <u>Kh</u>ān, the son of Asad <u>Kh</u>ān, also held several posts during Aurangzeb's reign. Starting his career at the age of eleven with the rank of 300 <u>zāt</u> in 1668,[3] Zūlfiqār <u>Kh</u>ān occupied the most important central post of <u>Mīr Bakhshī</u>[4], and attained the high rank of 6000/6000[5] towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign. Besides holding so many important offices both Asad <u>Kh</u>ān and Zūlfiqār <u>Kh</u>ān are found to have been successfully engaged in a number of battles.[6]

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1. <u>M.A.</u>, pp. 152, 281; <u>M.U.</u> I (a), p. 311; Cf. Maʿmūrī, f. 144(b) gives the year as 16th R.Y. i.e. 1673.

2. <u>M.A.</u>, p. 302; <u>M.U.</u>, Vol. I (a), p. 312.

3. <u>M.A.</u>, p. 71; <u>M.U.</u> II, 93; Satish Chandra, <u>Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court</u>, (Second edition) New Delhi, 1972, p.2, makes a slip when he gives the date of his first <u>mansab</u> as 1660 and the date of his birth as 1649 (11 years). The date of his birth in 1657 has been supported with a chronograme "<u>Ze Burj Asad rū namūd Āftāb</u>" by <u>Māsir-ul Umarā</u>, op.cit.

4. <u>M.A.</u> 461; <u>M.U.</u>, II, 96; <u>T.U.</u>, p.72 (in 1702).

5. <u>M.U.</u> II, 97; <u>T.U.</u>, 72 (in 1705).

6. See their respective biographies in <u>M.U.</u>

Muhammad Isḥāq entitled ʿInāyat Khān[1] was another son of Asad Khān by Nawal Bāi, the lady being popularly known as 'Rānī'. He was an expert calligraphist and for a time held the office of the Dārogha of jewel house.[2] In 1689 he is known to have been reinstated to his previous manṣab of 700/150.[3] He was married to a daughter of Abūl Ḥasan the ruler of Golkunda[4]. His sons were named Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and Mirzā Kāẓim. The former held a moderately high manṣab and the titles of Iʿtiqād Khān and ʿInāyat Khān during the reign of Jahāndār Shāh[5]. In the 29th R.Y. of Shāhjahān (1656) a third son of Asad Khān named Dārāb is noticed for the first time, being granted an inʿām of Rs.2000/-[6]. He was perhaps a younger brother of Ẕūlfiqār Khān (their mother being Mihr-un Nisā, a daughter of Āṣaf Khān). Nothing more could be traced about him.

According to the Maʿāṣirul Umarā, Ẕūlfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang was childless (Aulād nadāsht)[7], but

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1. The title was conferred on him in the 32nd R.Y. of Aurangzeb, T.U., p.115.
2. M.U., vol. I (a), pp. 320-21.
3. Akhbārāt, 33 R.Y., 30 July & 3 November, 1689.
4. M.A., pp. 312-313; Maʿmūri, f. 185(a); M.U. vol. I(a), pp. 320-321.
5. M.U., Vol. I (a), pp. 320-321; T.U., p. 74.
6. Wāriṣ, p. 313.
7. M.U., Vol. II, p.105.

curiously enough in 1686 one Yūsuf the son of Zūlfiqār Khān appears to have been sent, along with other generals, as a special officer (sazāwalī) under Lutfullah Khān in the campaign of Hyderabad.[1] That Zūlfiqār Khān was not childless is further corroborated by the account of William Norris, an English Ambassador visiting Aurangzeb's Court towards the close of his reign. During his stay at Brahmapuri (or Islāmpurī) in 1701 William Norris' surgeon, on the request of one of Zūlfiqār Khān's wives, treated her child who was only "one of 10 surviving and ye hopes of ye family, all dyinge of ye same fitts this child labours under".[2]

We may in the end mark the fact that, all in all, Asad Khān's was a very small family with only three male members who could attain rank and power in the Mughal nobility. Their sons-in-law and grandsons in-law have not been taken into account as members of this family, because almost all of them were related or belonged to the great house of Iʿtimād-ud Daula.[3]

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1. Maʿmūrī, f. 164(b).
2. Harihar Das, The Norris Embassy to Aurangzeb (1699-1702), Calcutta, 1959, p. 264.
3. See ante Section I; also Irfan Habib's article op. cit.

An analysis of the appendices showing the careers (in tabulated form) of the Qarāmānlūs in India reveals that the two Zūlfiqār Khān, one the father of Asad Khān and the other his son, were military generals by virtue of their profession. They are found to have been deputed, most of the time, on important military expeditions or entrusted with assignments pertaining to the maintenance of law and order such as ṣūbedār, faujdār, Qil'adār, Dārogha-i topkhāna, Bakhshī and Qūrbegī (keeper of arsenal) etc. Asad Khān, on the other hand, held mostly administrative offices like Ākhtabegī (master of horse), 'Arẓ Waqā'i' Ṣūbājāt, Deputy Dīwān and Wazīr[1]. As second bakhshī and Mīr bakhshī too he is not found to have accompanied any military expedition.[2] Perhaps an independent command was never given to him though forthis he once expressed his desire among his friends. "I have never been appointed on outside expeditions, if per chance appointed people will acknowledge my organising capacity and administrative efforts"[3]. This conversation was reported verbatim to

1. See Appendix-B.

2. In 1674 he was first sent to Kabul together with Prince Akbar M.A., pp. 133, 136; then after about nine years in 1682 he served along with Prince 'Aẓīmuddīn to check Rathor activities in Ajmer, M.A., 213.

3. Muḥammad Abdul Wahid (ed.), Ruq'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī, Lucknow, 1294 AH., letter No.153, pp. 41-42. This letter has also been translated by J.H. Bilimoria, Ruka'at-i Alamgiri tr. Delhi, 1972, 147. For a slightly different version also see M.A., pp. 352-53.

the Emperor who accordingly sent him in 1693 to reinforce his son Zūlfiqār Khān in the siege of Jinji. It was for the first time in 1701 that he was given full command of imperial force besieging Khelna and was granted the title of Amīr-ul Umarā'.[1] From our table it is clear that the military career of Asad Khān started with his arrival in the Deccan in 1684 (second time), and he is found to have been continuously engaged there till 1702. After that due to his old age and ill health he remained in constant attendance of Aurangzeb.

Zūlfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang provides an example of a full-time military commander who was, throughout his life, engaged in campaigning. If Asad Khān was a successful civil administrator, Zūlfiqār Khān was equally good on the military front. His matchless generalship may be judged by the fact that in 1705 during the siege of wagingera fort, at a time when the Mughal Commanders like Chīn Qulīch Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Tarbiyat Khān etc. had failed, Aurangzeb recalled Zūlfiqār Khān from Burhānpur, writing to him with his own hands to take the command of the imperial army. Zūlfiqār Khān ultimately captured the fort.[2]

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1. M.A., p.450.

2. M.A., pp. 502-505; M.U., II, pp. 96-97.

Our tables also reveal that the family of Asad Khān enjoyed considerable power throughout the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb as some of the very important and confidential posts were held by the members of the family. Rankwise too, they enjoyed a high position especially under Aurangzeb. Asad Khān held the rank of 7000/7000 and titles like Amīr-ul Umarā, Jumdat-ul Mulk, Madār-ul Muhāmī while his son Zūlfiqār Khān those of Nuṣrat Jang and Bahādur and held the rank of 6000/6000. The latter was also granted the most dignified insignia of Māhī Marātib.[1]

Lastly, it may be noted here that not withstanding their doubtless loaylty[2] and sincerity to the

1. Ruqʿāt-i ʿĀlamgīrī, op. cit., Ruqʿa no. 16, p.7; also see Isar Das Nagar, Futūḥāt-i ʿĀlamgīrī, (hereafter Futūḥāt), B.M. MS. Add. 23884, f. 160 Cf. Tasneem Ahmad, Ishwar Das Nagar's Futūḥāt-i ʿĀlamgīrī, (Eng. tr.), Delhi, 1978, p.269.

   For Māhī-o Marātib, see William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, Delhi, 1962, p.33.

2. Manucci writes that after his accession to the throne Aurangzeb wrote to Shāhjahān asking for a gift of the jewels under his possession. But Shāhjahān, in place of the required jewels, sent him the loyal Asad Khān, a person whom he strongly recommended, declaring that he might be more safely trsuted than any other living being. See Storia Do Mogor, (1653-1708), Vol. II, pp. 20-21; also Vol. IV, p. 241 for Asad Khān's reply to Prince Kām Bakhsh for not handing over the imperial treasures as long as the Emperor was alive. In his last will Aurangzeb mentioned that "There is not, nor will there (ever) be any wazīr better than Asad Khān", the letter has been quoted by J.N.Sarkar in History of Aurangzeb, vol. V, p.262. In his letters to Asad Khān and Zūlfiqār Khān, Aurangzeb always addressed them by using the phrase 'My Sincere and devoted (servant)'. See relevant letters in Ruqʿāt-i ʿĀlamgīrī, op. cit.

empire sometimes they appear to have become the target of Aurangzeb's displeasure.[1] Moreover, Asad Khān seems to have misused his position of wazīr and benefitted by his close association[2] with the Emperor. In 1679 Asad Khān appears to have been promised a bribe of Rs.20,000 by the English Factors for procuring a custom free farmān from the Emperor. But the latter refused saying that he could not grant it even for 22 lacs of rupees.[3] However, there are a number of parwānas issued by the grand wazīr Asad Khān proclaiming and ensuring the desired concessions to the English merchants from time to time.[4]

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1. During the siege of Jinji Asad Khān was ordered to hasten to Zūlfiqār Khān's help. As he delayed in going the Emperor remarked 'It is easy to make a boast but it is quite different to make it true, and also read the verse 'Don't boast any more of yourself (being a Turk) because your Turkship has ended' Ruqāt-i 'Ālamgīri, op.cit., pp. 41-42. See also M.A., 352-53. In 1705 after the conquest of Wakinkhera Zūlfiqār Khān was not given due rewards on account of some reasons. M.U., II, 97.

2. He enjoyed the privilege of visiting the Emperor in Gulālbār (enclosure) riding on his pālki which was forbidden to all the nobles and Princes except those who had been granted pālkis by the Emperor. Multafat Khān, another intimate servant, was also allowed. See M.A., 354.

3. R.C. Temple (ed.) The Diaries of Streyansham Master 1675-1680, vol. II, London, 1911, p.292 (hereafter see Master).

4. Farmāns, Nishāns and Parwānas, op.cit., pp.48, 49, 58, 59. These Parwānas belonged to the 21st and 23rd R.Y. of Aurangzeb.

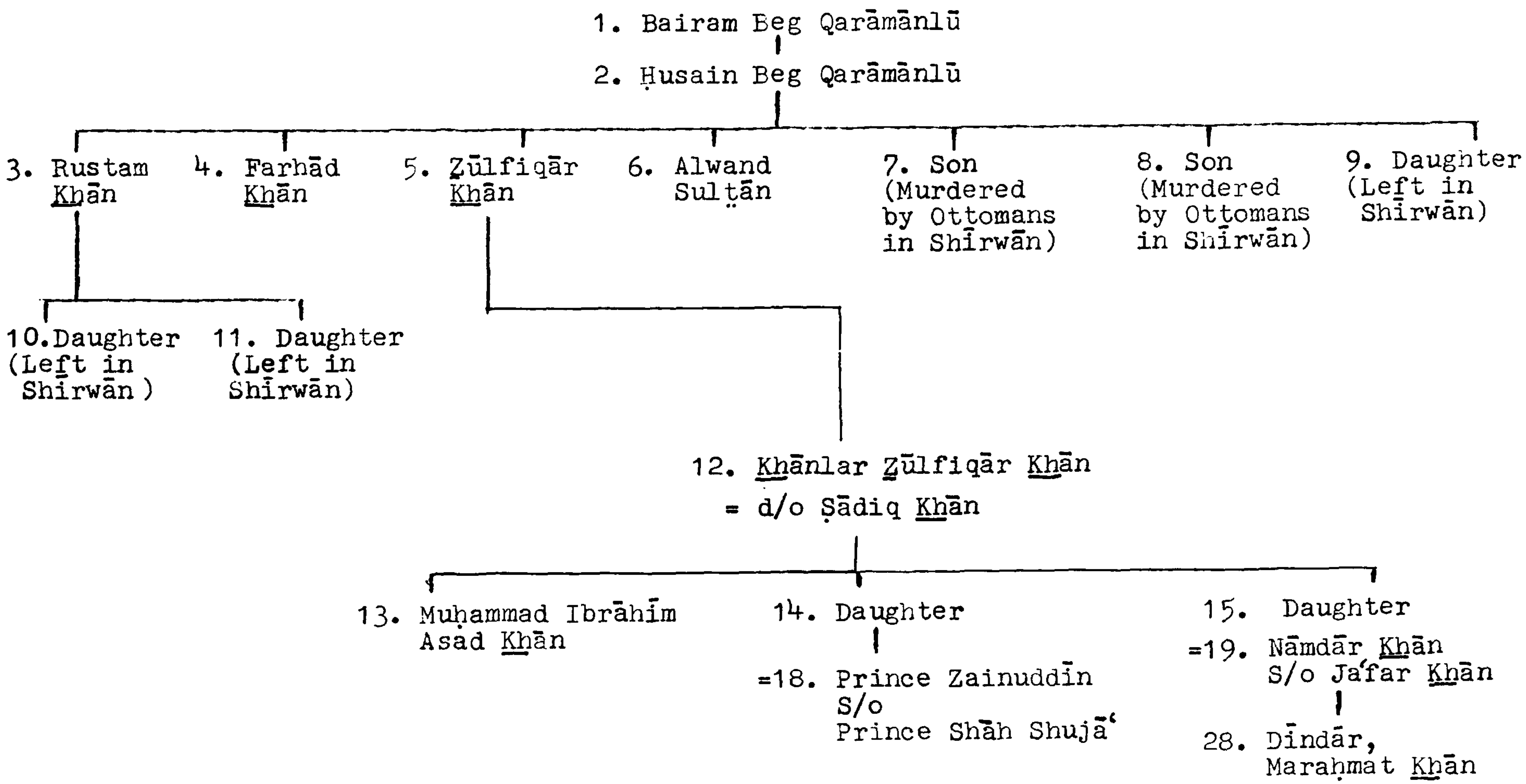
William Norris writes "In dealing with officials at the Mughal Court-as, indeed, at any other court in the world-there was the problem of appeasing the underlings, who always took undue advantage of their priviledged position. It was equally impossible to determine whether they had been genuinely commissioned by their superiors to do a certain thing, and how far they represented affairs to their masters as they really were".[1] Elsewhere he criticises the great nobles like deputy wazīr Arshad Khān, second bakhshī Rūḥullah Khān, and Mīr Bakhshī Bahramand Khān for their illegal exactions[2] but never, however, complains against Asad Khān and Ẕūlfiqār Khān with whom he was on friendly terms and the two had been instrumental in procuring and sending for him dastaks to Masulipatnam and Surat.[3]

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1. The Norris Embassy to Aurangzeb, op.cit., 271.
2. Ibid., pp.276-77.
3. Ibid., pp.275-276.

APPENDIX - A

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF ASAD KHĀN'S FAMILY



13. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān

I
=16. Mihrun Nisā' Begum d/o Āṣaf Khān

- 20. Muḥammad Ismāīl Zūlfiqār Khān
- 21. Dārāb Khān
- 22. Son (Died in Childhood)
- 23. Daughter =32. Bahramand Khān
- 24. Daughter =33. Khudā Banda Khān S/o Shāista Khān
- 25. Daughter =34. Tarbiyat Khān
- 26. Daughter =35. Iftikhār Khān, Mufākhir Khān Najm Ṣānī

II
=17. Nawal Bāī 'Rānī'

27. Muḥammad Isḥāq 'Ināyat Khān = d/o Abūl Ḥasan of Golkunda

- 29. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ I'tiqād Khān, 'Ināyat Khān
- 30. Mirzā Kāẓim

20. Muḥammad Ismāʻīl
Ẕūlfiqār K͟hān

I
=d/o Shāista K͟hān

36. Yūsuf

II
31. Ṭāhira Begum
d/o Islām K͟hān
Ḥusain Pāshā Rūmī

23. Daughter
= 32. Bahramand K͟hān

37. Daughter
= 39. Muḥammad Taqī K͟hān
s/o Dārāb K͟hān
Banī Muk͟htār Sabzwārī

41. Mīr ʻAlī Naqī
Bahramand K͟hān II
= d/o Shāista K͟hān II

38. Daughter
=40. Mīr Muḥammad
Mahdī,
Mīr K͟hān
s/o Mīr Mīrān
Yazdī

References to the Genealogical Chart

:	indicates	'Father of'
+	"	'Brother/Sister of'
=	"	'Husband/Wife of'
÷	"	'Grandson of'
S/L	"	'Son-in-law of'
d/o	"	'daughter of'

Numbers prefacing the names of persons in the Chart	Sources
1:2	A.A.A., I, 112
2:3,4,5,6	A.A.A., I, 443
3+4,5,6,7,8,9	A.A.A., II, 752.
3:10,11	Ibid.
4+5,6	Ibid. I, 442, 449, 52 , 542, 575, 588
5:12	M.U. II, 85
12=d/o Ṣādiq Khān	Z.Kh. II, 411; M.U. II, 88.
12:13	Ṣādiq Khān, f.89(b): Kāẓim, 439; M.U.I, 310; T.M. 35,74.
12:14,14=18	Kāẓim,493; M.U. II, 89
12:15,15+13,15=19:28	T.M. 8
19S/L12	Kāẓim, 439; M.A. 27
13=16, 13S/L Āṣaf Khān	M.U. II, 93; T.M., 35
13=17, 13:27	Akhbārāt, 25 R.Y. 10 Sept.1681; Maʿmūrī, f.185(a) M.A.,312; M.U. I(a) 320-21.
13:27,27:29,29+30	T.M. 74; M.U. I(a), 320-321.
27=d/o Abūl Ḥasan of Hyderabad	Akhbārāt, 32 R.Y., 4 Oct. 1688; Maʿmūrī, f.185(a); M.A., 312-313.
13:20	M.U. I (a) 320-21; T.M. 72.
13:21	Wāriṣ, 313
13:22 (22 died in childhood)	Kāẓim, 757-58
13:23,23=32,32S/L13	M.A.,461;M.U.I,454-57;T.M.16.
13:24,24=33	Akhbārāt, 33 R.Y., 11 July,1689; M.A., 374.
13:25,25=34	Akhbārāt, 39 R.Y.,18 January,1696; T.M., 22.
13:26,26=35	Kāẓim, 858; Akhbārāt, 4 R.Y.1662.
20=d/o Shāista Khān	Akhbārāt, 32 R.Y. 3 Oct., 1688; M.A. 158; M.U. II, 93.
20S/L Shāista Khān; 20÷Āṣaf Khān	T.M.31.
20=31	T.M.72.
20:36	Maʿmūrī, f.164(b)
32:37,38	M.U. I, 454-457.
37=39:41S/L32&23	Ibid.; T.M., 90.
38=40	Ibid.; Ibid., 66; M.A. 473

APPENDIX-B

MANṢABS AND APPOINTMENTS HELD BY ASAD KHĀN'S FAMILY

(A) UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

1. Khānlar, Zūlfiqār Khān

S.N.	Year	Rank	Title	Appointment	Source
1.	1627			In the central command with Āṣaf Khān in the battle against Shahryār.	Lāhorī I (a) 73.
2.	1631			In the left wing command of the imperial army in the Deccan.	Lāhorī I(a), 406; Z.Kh. II, 411; T.U. 71.
3.	1632	1000/600			Lāhorī I(a), 432.
4.	1633		Zūlfiqār Khān		Lāhorī I(a), 476.
5.	1634	1500/800		Faujdār of Miyān-i Doāb	Lāhorī I(b), 101; T.U. 71.
6.	1638			Bakhshī of Dārā's contingent in the Qandahār expedition.	Lāhorī, II, 140-141; Ṣādiq Khān, ff. 50(a)-51(a)
7.	1639			Dārogha-i Topkhāna	Lāhorī, II 154.
8.	1640	2000/800		Qil'adār of Lahore fort	Lāhorī, II, 198, 223; T.U., 71.
9.	1642	2000/1200		Faujdār of Mandsor	Lāhorī II, 306; T.U., 71.
10.	1644	2000/1500 (500x2-3h)		Tuyūldār of Pargana Bhojpur (Bihar)	Lāhorī II, 380; T.U. 71.

11.	1653	3000/2000			Wāriṣ, 208, 296.
12.	1656	3000/3000		Ṣūbedār of Bihar	Wāriṣ, 347-348; T.U. 71.

2. Muḥammad Ibrāhim, Asad Khān

(A) UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

1.	1651	1000 ẕāt			T.U., 196
2.	1653	1500/600	Asad Khān	Ākhtabegi	Wāriṣ, 208, 211, 237; Ṣādiq Khān f. 89 (b); T.U. 196.
3.	1655	2000/600		'Arẕ Waqā'i' Ṣūbajāt	Wāriṣ, 289, 296, T.U., 196.
4.	1657	2000/800			Wāriṣ, 361.
5.	1658			Second Bakhshi	Ṣālih, III, 244; Cf. T.U., 196.

(B) UNDER AURANGZEB

6.	1658	3000/1500		Second Bakhshi (H)	Kāẓim, 119, 157; T.U. 196.
7.	1659	3500/2500			Kāẓim, 395-96.
8.	1663	4000/2500			Kāẓim, 762.
9.	1664	4000/3800			Kāẓim, 843.
10.	1670			Dy. Diwān	M.A., 103.
11.	1671			Mir Bakhshi	M.A., 108; M.U. I(a), 311.
12.	1673			Dy. Diwān (Resigned)	M.A., 125-26.
13.	1673			Sent to Kabul along with Prince Akbar to suppress the Afghāns.	M.A., 133, 136.

14.	1676			Wazīr	M.U. I(a), 311; T.U.196.
15.	1677			Deputed in the Deccan.	M.A., 161; Mamūrī, f.149 (b); M.U. I (a) 312.
16.	1681-82			Deputed with Prince 'Azīm-uddīn to check Rathor activities.	M.A., 213; Futūhāt, ff. 83(b) 84(a).
17.	1684			Visited Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar	M.A., 241; M.U. I, (a) 312.
18.	1687			Granted Masnad-i Wizārat	M.A., 281; M.U. I(a), 312.
19.	1688	7000/7000			M.A., 302; M.U. I(a), 312.
20.	1690			In the conquest of Nandial fort	M.A., 354.
21.	1692-93			In the siege of Wakankhera etc.	M.A., 354-59.
22.	1693			In the siege of Jinji fort.	M.A., 356.
23.	1698	7000/7000			M.A., 391-92.
24.	1699			Appointed at Brahmapurī (Islāmpurī) to guard imperial harem.	M.A., 408; M.U. I(a), 314.
25.	1701		Amīr-ul Umarā'	Commanded Mughal troops besieging the fort of Khelna.	M.A., 445, 450; T.U., 196.

3. Muhammad Ismaīl Zūlfiqār Khān

1.	1668	300/zāt			M.A., 71.
2.	1673-74			Appointed in Kabul.	T.U., 71.
3.	1677		Itiqād Khān		M.A., 158.
4.	1679			Bakhshī of Ahdis	M.A., 176.
5.	1681-82	1500/300		Appointed in Ajmer; defeated Rathors in Merta.	M.A., 213; 214-15; Akhbārāt, 25th R.Y. December, 1681; M.U., II, 93-94; T.U., 72.
6.	1684			Sent towards Zafarābād (Bidar) with a strong force.	M.A., 243.
7.	1684	2000/400		Qūrbegi, conquered chanda.	M.A., 250-51; T.U., 72.
8.	1684-85			Sent towards Sangamnir, and Bidar.	M.A., 252, 259.
9.	1685			Thanedār of Indi	M.A. 266.
10.	1686			Punished Marathas near Mangalbeda.	M.A., 283.
11.	1687			Dārogha-i Ghusal Khāna.	M.A., 297; M.U., II, 94.
12.	1688			Sent to conquer Bangalore fort	Futūhāt, ff.127(b)-131 (a).
13.	1689	3000/2000	Zūlfiqār Khān	Sent to conquer the fort of Raheri.	Akhbārāt, 33 RY., 4 November, 1689; M.A. 331, 332; M.U., II, 94.

14. 1691	4000/2500		Conquered the fort of Nirmal (Trinomali).	M.A. 345; I.J. II, 94.
15. 1692-93	4000/3000		Appointed to Conquer fort of Jinji.	M.A., 351, 352-53, 354-59, M.U. II, 94.
16. 1694	5000/3000			M.A., 369.
17. 1695	5000/4000	Nuṣratjang		M.A., 374; M.U., II, 95.
18. 1698	5000/5000		Conquered fort of jinji (renamed Nuṣratgarh after his name).	M.A., 392; M.U. II, 95-96.
19. 1699			Dārogha-i-Jilau (A.C.)	M.A., 406.
20. 1700			Sent towards Parnala under Prince Bedār Bakht, crushed Dhannā Jādav.	M.A., 430, 432, Ma'mūrī, f.197(a).
21. 1702			Mīr Bakhshī	M.A., 461; M.U., II, 96, 97.
22. 1703			Sent towards Burhānpur to punish Marāthas.	M.A., 470.
23. 1705			Deputed in the siege of Wakankhera fort.	M.A., 502-503; Ma'mūrī, f.205(b), M.U., II, 96-97; T.U., 72.
24. 1706	6000/6000		Sent towards Aurangabad to punish Marāthas; recaptured Kondana (Bakhshanda Bakhsh).	M.A., 511, 512; M.U., II, 97.

(c) FAMILY OF RŪḤULLAH KHĀN

The family of Rūḥullah Khān - the Mīr Bakhshī of Aurangzeb - was an important Irānian family some of whose members came to India in 1606 in a very destitute condition.[1] His grandfather Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī the son of Mīr Mīrān of Yazd was a descendant of Saiyid Nūruddīn Shāh Niʿamatullah Walī whose descent was traced to Imām Mūsá Kāẓim (the 7th Imām).[2] Before their migration to India the ancestors of Rūḥullah Khān had served under the Ṣafavid rulers of Irān since Shāh Ismaʿīl Ṣafavī's time.[3] They had held important offices and some of them had earned the title of Murtaẓá-i mamālik-i Islām (the chosen of the realms of Islām).[4] The family also had the privilege of marriage alliances with the Ṣafavid family as it appears from the genealo-

1. Tuzuk, pp.62-63; M.U.,III,p.341.

2. M.U.,III, p.335.

3. A detailed account of the family has been given in the biography of Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī in M.U.,III, pp.335-342.

4. Shāh Niʿamatullah II and his son Mīr Mīrān I had this title. See A.A.A.,I,pp.132,228; M.U.,III, p.339. It may also be pointed out that in A.A.A. members of this family have been mentioned with the prefix 'Shāh' (viz. Shāh Niʿamatullah, Shāh Khalīlullah etc.), while in the Mughal chronicles prefix 'Mir' has been invariably used to their names, which I have followed here.

gical charts appended to this chapter. In the text below the numbers within brackets after each name refer to the serial numbers given in the charts. Mīr Khalīlullah I's (No.6) grandfather Saiyid Naʿīmuddīn Shāh Niʿamatullah II (No.2), married Khānish Begum, a sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī,[1] whose daughter (No.4) (probably Parī Paikar Khānum of M.U.,III,p.339) was married to Ismaʿīl Mirzā (later Shāh Ismaʿīl II) the son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 1554-55.[2] Mir Niʿamatullah III (No.5) and his younger brother Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī I (No.6) the sons of Amīr Ghyāṣuddīn Mīr Mīrān I (No.3) were also married to Ṣafavid princesses. The former married Khānish Khānam, a daughter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the latter married Shāh Ismaʿīl II's daughter Sulṭān Begum (No.8).[3] After Khānish Khānam's death in 1590-91[4], during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I, Mīr Niʿamatullah married

1. A.A.A.,I,p.132; Tuzuk, pp.62, 150; Cf. M.U.,III, p.339 mentions her name as Khānish Khānam.

2. A.A.A., I,p.132; Tuzuk, p.62; Cf. M.U. III,p.339 mentions a daughter of Mīr Niʿamatullah I as Parīpaikar (fairy-faced) Khānam who was perhaps the same daughter married to Ismaʿīl Mirzā.

3. A.A.A.I, pp.136,228; Tuzuk, p.62,150; M.U.,III,p.339.

4. Ibid. p.136, vol. II, p.431.

another daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp, Khadīja Sultān Begum, the widow of Jamshed Khān[1], who was governor (Wālī) of Bih-pas[2] (in Gīlān).

The Maāsir-ul Umarā tells us that Shāh Niamatullah II's (No.2), father Mīr Nizāmuddīn Abd (No.1), was Sadr of Shāh Ismāil Safavī and afterwards when the vakīl of the State, Amīr Najm-i Sānī was killed at Ghajdiwān the Mīr was appointed the royal vakīl.[3] During the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp, Ghyāsuddīn Muhammad Mīr Mīrān I[4] (No.3) held charge of the entire Suyūrghāls (Sāhib-i Suyūrghālāt-i Kullī) and held some very important office (masnad-i 'azmat-o-iqbāl) in yazd. The total income from the property &

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1. A.A.A., p.135. For Jamshed Khān's murder see A.A.A. I, pp.265-66.

2. Bih-pesh and Bih-pas were the two cities (ulka) in Gīlān. See A.A.A., I, p.265.

   M.U., III, pp.340-41 wrongly mentions Shahr Bāno Begum, another wife of Mīr Niamatullah, as having died in the 4th R.Y. of Shāh 'Abbās I in Isfahān; this is because of confusion with Khānish Begum who died that year. See A.A.A., II, p.431. Shahr Bāno Begum was a younger sister of Khadījah Begum and was married to Salmān Khān, son of Shāh 'Alī Mirzā Istājlū during the reign of Khudā Banda. See A.A.A., I, pp.136, 260, 280.

3. M.U., III, pp. 338-39.

4. Besides holding the ancestral title of Murtazá-i Mamālik-i Islām, he was also honoured to be styled (laqab) as Arjumand Birādari (the revered brother) See A.A.A., I, p. 228.

perquisites of the family (hāsil-i imlāk wa idrārāt-i musallamiyāt-i ān silsilah) amounted to 5000 tūmāns.[1] During Shāh ʿAbbās I's reign, Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī I (No.6) the son of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī I (No.3) and the great grand father of Rūḥullah Khān I (No.38) was granted charge of Yazd by the Shāh in 1590-91.[2] Subsequently, Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī I was censured by the Shāh for certain reasons and he lost his property as a result. From fear of his life he fled with his two sons Mīr Mīrān II (No.9) and Mīr Ẓahīruddīn (No.10) to India and waited upon Jahāngīr at Lahore in 1606. He was graciously received by the Emperor and besides a cash award of Rs.12,000/-, was granted the rank of 1000/200, together with a Jāgīr.[3] In 1608, he fell ill after over-eating mangoes and died of severe diarrhoea at Agra. During this short association of about two years with Jahāngīr Mīr Khalīlullah I had attained so much reputation in the court and closeness to the emperor that the latter was quite grieved on his death; and whatever he left behind in cash and kind was allowed to be sent to his children in Irān (vilāyat).[4] His two grandsons - Mīr

1. A.A.A., I, p.145.
2. Ibid., II, p.431; M.U., III, p.341.
3. Tuzuk, p.63; M.U., III, 341.
4. Ibid, pp.69,150.

ʿAbdul Hādī (No.13) and Khalīlullah Khān II (No.14) the sons of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II (No.9), from his Irānian wife, had remained in Irān on account of their tender age. Jahāngīr in a letter to Shāh ʿAbbās asked that they be allowed to come to India.[1]

After Mīr Khalīlullah's death, his two sons Mīr Mīrān II (No.9) and Mīr Ẓahīruddīn (No.10) received high favours. They were respectively taken into service in the 10th and 17th R.Y. and each one of them was initially granted the rank of 1000/400.[2] Mīr Ẓahīruddīn, who joined the service in 1622[3] could not make progress and having resigned from the service went into retirement[4]. In 1632 Shāhjahān granted him an annual allowance of Rs.18,000/-.[5] Mīr Mīrān I, however, was appointed first as faujdār of Mewāt in 1619[6] and then ṣūbedār of

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1. M.U., III, p.341-42. The letter was sent by Khān ʿĀlam Mirzā Barkhurdār who went on an embassy to Irān in 1613 and after a long stay came back to India in 1620. See M.U.,I, pp. 732-36 in the biography of Khān ʿĀlam; also the biography of Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī, Aṣālat Khān M.U. I, pp.167-172. The ʿĀlam Ārāi ʿAbbāsī, however, does not refer to the letter and the children. See A.A.A. III, 939,951. For the letter sent with Khān ʿĀlam, see Riazul Islam : Indo-Persian Relations, Karachi, 1970, p. 74 n.

2. Tuzuk, p.150,347.

3. Ibid., p.346.

4. M.U., III, p.342.

5. Lāhorī I(a), p.432; M.U. III, p.342.

6. Tuzuk, p.310.

Delhi in 1620.[1] His rank was also successively raised to 2500/1400 in 1622[2], in which year he died[3].

After its establishment in India the family of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II succeeded in contracting matrimonial relations with important Irānian families. It may be noted that only the male members of this family married in the family of I'timād-ud Daula. Mīr Mīrān II himself married Ṣāliḥa Bāno Begum (No.11) a daughter of Āṣaf Khān[4], his son Khalīlullah Khān II (No.14) married Ḥamīda Bāno Begum (No.17), a daughter of Mirzā Ṣafī Saif Khān[5], the son-in-law of Āṣaf Khān and a great grandson of Āqa Mullā Dawātdār of Qazwīn.[6] Rūḥullah Khān I (No.38) married a daughter (No.41) of Shāista Khān[7], and a grandson of Khalīlullah Khān II. Mīr Khān (No.42) the eldest son of Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān III(No.36) married a daughter (No.57) of 'Azīzuddīn Bahramand Khān, the grandson of Ṣādiq Khān Mīr Bakhshī.[8]

1. Tuzuk, p.324.
2. Ibid., p.344.
3. Ibid., p.352.
4. M.U. III, pp.341-42.
5. Ibid. I(b), p.775.
6. Irfan Habib's article op.cit. Genealogical Chart 'I', p.84.
7. Kāẓim, p. 477; M.U. II, p.309,706.
8. M.A., p.473; M.U. I(a), p.286, 454; II, p.729.

Among other Irānian families with which the family of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II entered into marriage alliances were those of the Ṣafavī Mirzās of Qandahār, ʿAlī Mardān Khān Zīg, and Mirzā Badīʿ of Mashhad.[1] Mīr Niʿmatullah (No.12), the son of Mīr Ẓahīruddīn (No.10) married the daughter of Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī.[2] Shahzāda Begum (No.16), the daughter of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II, was married to Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān (No.18), the son of Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī,[3] and a daughter (No.37) of Khalīlullah Khān II (No.14) was married to Saifuddīn Ṣafavī Kāmyāb Khān (No.22) the son of Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān (No.18).[4] Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān III (No.36) married Jān Nawāz Begum alias Ṣāhibjī (No.40), the daughter of ʿAlī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul Umarā[5]; and Kābulī Begum (No.66) a daughter of Rūḥullah Khān I (No.38) was married to Mīr Muḥammad ʿAqīdat Khān (No.72), son of Mirzā Badīʿ of Mashhad[6]. Hadiya Begum (No.69), another daughter of Rūḥullah Khān I

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1. He was one of the principal Saiyids of Mashhad. His ancestors had been the guardians of the shrine of the Imām ʿAlī ibn Mūsá (the 8th Imām). See M.U., I, pp. 222-25.

2. Lāhorī, II, p.374; Wāriṣ, p.147.

3. Ibid., p.485; Ibid, p.36; M.U. III, 478-479.

4. Kāẓim, p.663; M.U. III, 479.

5. Maʿmūrī, f.192(a); M.U. I (a) 284; T.M. II, 9.

6. M.U., I(a), 225; Cf. T.M. II, 62 mentions Mariyam Begum whose daughter Panna Begum (No.78) was married to Sarbuland Khān (No.74).

was married to Mīr Muḥammad Rafī' Sarbuland Khān (No.74) the son of Mīr Afẓal Muqtadavī Khān of Tūn.[1]

Some women from this family were also taken into marriage by Mughal princes in the reign of Aurangzeb. 'Āisha Begum (No.67), a daughter of Rūḥullah Khān I, was married to Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm (No.73), the son of Prince Shāh 'Ālam.[2] Similarly, a daughter (No.56) of Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān III was married to Prince 'Izzuddīn (No.61) the son of Prince Mu'izuddīn towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign.[3]

Returning to the position of the members of Rūḥullah Khān's family as mansabdārs a reign-wise tabulation is offered in Appendix-B, which shows the mansabs held by members of the family from Jahāngīr to Aurangzeb. The table contains only the highest ranks known to have been attained by them in each reign. It appears that till the end of Aurangzeb's reign three generations of the family had continuously been in active service and that they continued to enjoy increasin-

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1. M.U. III, 801-806.
2. M.A., p.347; M.U., II, p.313.
3. Ibid., p.518; Akhbārāt, Sha'bān 50th R.Y. (4 Nov.1706) and 3 Ramẓān 51 R.Y. (28 Nov., 1706).

gly higher position in each successive reign. In the first generation there were only three members who are known to have been holding ranks. But none of them had the rank of 5000 z̤āt. In the second generation their position improved to the extent that out of eight members two were holding the rank of 5000 z̤āt. The two were Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān 5000/4000 and Khalīlullah Khān Yazdī 5000/5000 (2-3h). The remaining six members reached ranks ranging from 700 z̤āt to 2500 z̤āt. The third generation during Aurangzeb's reign attained the highest position in terms of manṣabs. Out of 17 members of the family holding ranks, three held the rank of 5000 z̤āt and above. They were Khalīlullah Khān 6000/6000 (2-3h), Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān 6000/5000 (3000x2-3h) and Rūḥullah Khān I 5000/5000. Among the rest three were medium rank manṣabdārs such as ʿAbdul Kāfī Nawāzish Khān (3000/1200), Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān (3000/1200) and Rūḥullah Khān II (3500/1200). Thus, in the first two categories (viz. high and medium rank categories) the position of Rūḥullah Khān's family was more stronger during Aurangzeb's reign than ever before. Out of the remaining eleven members only four held the ranks of 1000 z̤āt and above while seven of them reached ranks below 1000 z̤āt. They were all sons of Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān, so that except two of his sons - Amīr Khān

(1000/600) and Maraḥmat Khān (1000/300) - all other sons reached ranks below 1000 ẕāt.

As regards the offices held by the members of Rūḥullah Khān's family, information on central offices, governorships, faujdārīs and Qil'edārships during the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb is brought together in Appendices C, D and E. We have seen that during Jahāngīr's reign it was only Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II who held the rank of 2,500/1,400, the then highest rank held in the family, and the governorship of Delhi.[1] During the reign of Shāhjahān the family, however, made great progress in terms of offices held by its members. The tables show that many important central offices like Mīr-i Tuzuk, Mīr Ātish, Mīr Bakhshī, second Bakhshī, Bakhshī of Aḥdīs, Akhtabegī, Qarāwalbegī, Qūshbegī, Qūrbegī, Dārogha of Dāgh and Peshkash were held by members of the family. It also appears that with the exception of the two major central offices of Dīwān-i kul or wazīr and Mīr-i Sāmān the other three major offices in the centre namely Mīr Bakhshī, Mīr-i Tuzuk and Mīr-i Ātish were held by them. As many as six members of the family are known to have held central offices during Shāhjahān's reign. During the

1. Tuzuk, p.324, 344.

reign of Shāhjahān the province of Delhi was twice put under the charge of two members of the family. Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān was its governor from 1635 to 1637; and Khalīlullah Khān II from 1651 to 1658.[1] We may recall that Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II too had been governor of Delhi under Jahāngīr.

During Aurangzeb's reign the family held a number of central offices, governorships of various provinces and also the offices of faujdār and Qilʿadār of different places. In addition to the offices held during the reign of Shāh Jahān, many other important central offices were also assigned to them. These include Mīr-i Sāmān, posts of Dārogha of macebearers, servants of Jilau, Khāṣ Chaukī, and Dīwān-i Khāṣ etc. The office of Ākhtabegī (master of horse) which was only once assigned to Khalīlullah Khān II during Shāhjahān's reign, was now frequently assigned to three members of the family, viz. Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Multafat Khān, and Rūḥullah Khān I. The last named was appointed thrice to this office.[2] The office of Mīr-i Sāmān which was one of the major central offices was also assigned for the first time in the family to

1. See Appendix-D(A).

2. See Appendix-C(B).

Sultān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān and Rūḥullah Khān I.[1]

As regards governorships held by members of the family our table shows that as many as five members of the family were appointed to various provinces during Aurangzeb's reign. The provinces include Punjab (Lahore), Kabul, Allahabad, Kashmir, Bihar, Ajmer, Bijapur, Hyderabad Bidar and Nander.[2] It is also evident that the average tenure of each incumbant both in the central offices and in the provinces was longer than under Shāhjahān. Mīr Mīrān, Amīr Khān's total tenure as governor of Kabul was about 36 years.[3] As many as six members of the family held various faujdārīs and Qil'adārīs in the empire. The faujdārīs include those of the Sarkārs of Kohistān-i Jammū, Māndū, Langarkot (in Peshāwar), Dhāmunī, Sahāranpur (or Miyān-i Doāb), upper and lower Bangash, Jaunpur, Ghāzipur Zamānia and Agra. The Qil'adārīs held by members of the family were of Agra, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Qandahār fort (in the Deccan).[4] Thus, the family of Rūḥullah Khān I occupied

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1. See Appendix C(B).
2. Ibid., D(B).
3. Ibid., also see Chapter 5(b).
4. Ibid., E(B).

a high position during Aurangzeb's reign as far as the Central Offices, governorships of provinces and other important offices are concerned.

A few words may be offered about Rūḥullah Khān I's personal career under Aurangzeb. He reached the high mansab of 5000/4000 and besides holding many important posts obtained the coveted office of the Mīr Bakhshī. Our evidence suggest that Rūḥullah Khān I during most of his career enjoyed the trust of the emperor.

He appears to have started his career in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, as he is not mentioned at all in the sources of Shāhjahān's reign. He was deputed by the successful Aurangzeb to march along with his father Khalīlullah Khān II in pursuit of Dārā Shukoh.[1] He was presumably granted the rank of 1000/200 after the war of succession as in the 2nd R.Y. (1659) he is reported to have received an enhancement of 500 ẕāt and promoted to the rank of 1500/200.[2] In the 6th R.Y. (1663) his rank was further enhanced to 1500/500 and he was appointed Mīr Bakhshī of Aḥ-dīs[3],

1. Kāẓim, p.147.
2. Ibid., p.486.
3. Ibid., pp.817,830; M.U. II, pp.309-310.

apparently the first appointment, so far, known to be held by him. This office he held for about five years, till 1668. During this period he seems to have become a close and confidential noble of Aurangzeb. Manucci tells us that one day during his tenure as Mīr Bakhshī of Aḥdīs (a rank much inferior to that of the Wazīr), breaking well established conventions and practices, Rūḥullah Khān at the time of presentation of petitions to the emperor took precedence over the Wazīr, and went very close to the emperor. The next day when Ja'afar Khān ventured to draw the emperor's attention to this impropriety the emperor took a lineant view and instead of censuring Rūḥullah Khān assured Ja'afar Khān (Wazīr) that it would not be repeated in future.[1]

In 1668 Rūḥullah Khān was appointed Ākhtabegī[2] (Master of horse), a charge which was exclusively assigned to very trustworthy persons.[3] However, a few years afterwards his fortunes began declining as in the 14th R.Y. (1671 A.D.) he was replaced by Irādat Khān and in the 16th R.Y. (1673 A.D.) he was given the less important office of the faujdār of Dhāmunī, and soon

1. Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 443-444.

2. M.U. II, pp.309-10.

3. In the context of Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg, the author of Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā' mentions that the office of Ākhtabegī was entrusted with none but only the very trusted person. See M.U. I, p.591.

after was removed from that post too, for reasons not mentioned by authorities.[1] After two years in 1675 he was, however, reinstated to the rank of 1,500/400 and was appointed faujdār of Sahāranpur.[2] In a letter, from Jahān Āra Begum to Rāja Budh Prakāsh Zamīndār of Srimūr (in Garhwāl), Rūḥullah Khān is mentioned as faujdār of Miyān-i Doāb[3] which is identical with Sahāranpur. It may be pointed out that this letter was written to the Rāja in reply to his letter in which he had requested Jahān Āra Begum to issue orders (Nishān) to Rūḥullah Khān and other officials to assist the Rāja in dealing with his Taḥvīldārs (treasurers) and the zamīndārs of pargana Sādhūra.[4]

From 1675 till his death in 1692, for a period of about 18 years, Rūḥullah Khān led an uninterrupted career holding successively many important offices such as Ākhtabegī (second time, 1677 A.D.), Khān-i Sāmān (1678 A.D.), Mīr Ātish (1679 A.D.), Mīr Bakhshī (1680 A.D.), Second Bakhshī (1681 A.D.), Qilʿadār of Ahmadnagar (1685 A.D.), again Mīr Bakhshī (1687 A.D.), ṣūbedār of Bijapur (1687 A.D.) and ṣūbedār of Hyderabad (1688 A.D.).[5]

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1. M.A., p.127; M.U. II, p.310.
2. M.A., 144; M.U. II, p.310.
3. Ruqʿāt -i ʿĀlamgīr, ed. Saiyid Najeeb Ashraf Nadvi, Azamgarh, 1929, letter No.3/200, p.316.
4. Ibid.
5. M.A., pp.150, 156, 187, 195, 260, 281, 282, 298-99; Maʾmūrī, ff. 162(a)-(b), 176(a); M.U. II, 310-13.Cf. Mughal Nobility, p.146, has wrongly mentioned him as Ṣūbedār of Orissa.

He was also active in a number of military expeditions sent against Marāthas in the Deccan and participated in fall of the forts of Bijapur, Golconda and Raichur.[1] He received rapid promotions and obtained the rank of 5000/4000 in 1686.[2]

As second Bakhshī Rūḥullah Khān appears to be acting as a bridge between the emperor and officers by mediating between the two. On the one hand he kept the emperor well informed about nobles' activities and on the other pleaded their cases and sought remedies to their grievances. In 1681 the emperor granted Mīr Ḥifẓullah son-in-law of Ma'amūr Khān two months' leave to visit his mother at Shāhjahānābād at Rūḥullah Khān's recommendation.[3] In the same year on his pleading as second Bakhshī, Amīr Khān the ṣūbedār of Kābul received a promotion to the rank of 6000/5000 (3000x2-3h) all unconditional. Amīr Khān reported to the emperor through Rūḥullah Khān that instead of Rupees 6,00,000/- given to the Afghāns annually, probably to maintain safety of the routes, he allowed them only Rupees 1,50,000/- and retained the rest for the central treasury.

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1. See relevant entries of Rūḥullah Khān's career in Appendix-C(B).

2. M.A., p.282, M.U. II, p.311.

3. Akhbārāt, Sha'bān 24th R.Y., 23 August, 1681.

Rūḥullah Khān seems to have put the case so competently that in addition to an enhancement in rank, Amīr Khān also received 1,20,00,000 dāms as in'ām from the emperor.[1]

He also appears issuing ḥasb-ul ḥukm on orders of the emperor to various nobles and officers. In 1681 A.D. he sent a ḥasb-ul ḥukm to Khān Zamān informing him that Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Thānedār of Thāneswar, should be punished for not performing his duties and staying at Burhānpur. Khān Zamān was further asked to explain to the emperor why Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was allowed to stay at Burhanpur.[2]

Rūḥullah Khān was also entrusted, as second Bakhshī, with the task of preparing and sending the Tūmār of nobles' contingents. In 1681 he was asked by the emperor to send the Tūmār of Ma'amūr Khān's contingent.[3] Again in the same year the emperor assigned him another important task of ordering the faujdārs of Burhānpur, Surat and Gujarat to maintain the high way so that the travellers could pass through their territories and reach the court safely.[4] Further, he was also compelled

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1. Akhbarat, Shawwāl 25th R.Y. 24th October, 1681.

2. Ibid., Zīqada, 6th November, 1681.

3. Ibid., 14th November, 1681.

4. Ibid..

to convey imperial orders of punishment and demotions. In 1681 he informed Shaikh Muhammad Anwar, Diwān of Pūr and Mandal, that his rank was decreased from 100/20 to 40/20 as a punishment for not informing the emperor about the attack of Rānā Rāj Singh on Mandal, and writing to Asad Khān instead of the emperor. He was strictly ordered to send reports direct to the emperor in future.[1]

When Aurangzeb learnt from the reports of the secret news-writers about the bets made by Khān-i Jahān and Rustam Khān, in which Rustam Khān lost an enormous amount in lieu of which Khān-i Jahān confiscated his Jāgir, the emperor ordered the second Bakhshī Rūhullah Khān to issue a hasb-ul hukm to the Bakhshī of the Deccan informing him about the decrease of 500 zāt in his rank as punishment since he failed to report the matter to the emperor.[2]

It is curious that all these important tasks of issuing the hasb-ul hukms and conveying orders were entrusted to Rūhullah Khān who held the office of Second Bakhshī while the Mīr Bakhshīs during this period were Himmat Khān[3] and, after him, Ashraf Khān[4]. Could

1. Akhbārāt, op.cit; M.A., 217.
2. Akhbārāt, Zilhaj 25th R.Y. 15th December, 1681.
3. M.A., pp. 195, 201.
4. Ibid., p. 206.

one then venture to infer that Rūḥullah Khān was not only Second Bakhshī but also a favourite and close confident of Aurangzeb.

Rūḥullah Khān was appointed Mīr Bakhshī twice. First in the 23rd R.Y. (1680) after the death of Sarbuland Khān[1] though for a short period of about one year. The second time was in the 30th R.Y. (1686) with the rank of 5000/4000. He remained in this office till his death in 1692 and was succeeded by Bahramand Khān[2]. It appears that in addition to the office of Mīr Bakhshī he was also appointed ṣūbedār of Bijapur and Hyderabad, the two crucial provinces in the Deccan. This suggests that Aurangzeb had special trust in Rūḥullah Khān's administrative capability and statesmanship.[3] He was considered one of the best administrators and advisors in matters pertaining to the government, and was summoned to the court for consultations on important matters.[4]

Whether at court or away from it Rūḥullah Khān, as Mīr Bakhshī, retained his importance. Most of his

1. M.A., p. 187.
2. Ibid., pp. 348, 350.
3. M.U., II, 314.
4. K.K. II, p.337.

petitions were approved and accepted by the emperor[1] and latter was so indulgent to him that Rūḥullah Khān, at times, took liberty and disregarded the norms and regulations of the court.[2]

His recommendations were usually accepted by the emperor. It was at his instance that ʿAbdullah Khān Bārha got his rank restored, a task in which he failed earlier inspite of performing courageous deeds against Marāthas. Rūḥullah Khān, however, through his intercession convinced the emperor and got ʿAbdullah Khān's rank released.[3]

Nevertheless, Rūḥullah Khān was, on occassions, censured by the emperor. From 1673 to 1675 he was under suspension.[4] During his governorship of Hyderabad he was again punished for certain reasons but after a few days he was pardoned.[5] At times, it appears that his petitions were also rejected. During the days of scarcity

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1. M.U. II, 314.
2. Manucci II, 443-44.
3. Raqāʾim-i Karāʾim, B.M., Add. 26239, f. 9(a); Ruqaʿāt-i ʿĀlamgir, Niẓāmī Press Kanpur, 1273 AH., p.27.
4. M.A., p. 144, M.U. II, p.310.
5. Raqāʾim-i Karāʾim, ff. 31(b)-32(a); Ruqaʿāt-i ʿĀlamgīr, op. cit. pp. 39-40.

of pāibāqī and increasing pressure of salary-claimants, the emperor repeatedly forbade Rūḥullah Khān for making fresh recruitments and once (in 1691) asked him strictly not to recommend people for employment.[1]

Although described by most of our authorities as a liberal and benevolent person[2] Rūḥullah Khān was not free from certain faults. Manucci calls him "honest but greedy both in eating and getting".[3] Rūḥullah Khān was unable to maintain good relations with his deputy sūbedār of Hyderabad Jān Nis̤ār Khān though he was appointed on his recommendation. The latter went to the extent of filing a complaint against Rūḥullah Khān's wrong intentions against him and requested the emperor to transfer him to the post of Bakhshī-i Tan.[4] Rūḥullah Khān is also charged for appropriating money from the people on different pretexts. He often so cleverly managed to conceal his actions that the emperor was always convinced of his honesty.[5] In a letter Aurangzeb himself

1. K.K. II, pp. 411-12.

2. M.U. II, pp. 313-14.

3. Manucci, III, p. 95.

4. Ḥamīduddīn Khān Bahādur, Aḥkām-i ʿĀlamgīrī, ed. J.N. Sarkar, Calcutta 1926, Aḥkām No.53, pp. 65-66.

5. M.U. II, 314-15 mentions how Rūḥullah Khān convinced the emperor of his honesty when he was found to have realised a 2/3rd commission on an advance which a Rāja in the Deccan received through his recommendation.

acknowledges Rūhullah Khān's act of misappropriation of wealth from the people.[1]

In spite of these failings Rūhullah Khān remained a great favourite of Aurangzeb till his last days. When the Khān was lying in his death bed, the emperor visited him and seeing him unconscious broke down. The Khān took the opportunity of seeking the last favour and begged that the emperor should show kindness and favour to those of his sons who were deserving and indulgence to those who were undeserving as being the sons and grandsons of a Khānazād. The emperor was gracious enough to give the assurance. Rūhullah Khān further requested that since he had accepted the Sunnī faith and the rituals of ablution and burial should be performed accordingly. He also requested that his two daughters be married to Sunnī grooms. According to his last will his elder daughter was married to Prince Muhammad Ażīm. On the other hand, Siyādat Khān son of Siyādat Khān Saiyid Oqhlān refused to accept the younger daughter in marriage doubting her sincerity to the sunnī faith.[2]

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1. Raqāim-i Karāim, ff. 24(a)-(b); Ruqa'āt-i Ālamgīr, op. cit. pp. 37-38.

2. ʿInāyatullah Khān, Ahkām-i Ālamgīri, ʿAbdus Salām collection, 327/97, M.A. Library Aligarh, ff.13(b)-14(a); 18(a)-19(b); also Ahkām-i ʿĀlamgīrī, op.cit., Ahkām No.69, pp.77-78 and Ahkām No.70 pp.78-81.

Rūḥullah Khān's successful career thus came to an end in 1692, but his last wish was honoured by Aurangzeb who took his sons into service. The second son Mīr Ḥasan Khānazād Khān stepped into the shoes of his father being appointed as Khān-i Sāmān in 1697-98 with the title of Rūḥullah Khān II. He ultimately reached the post of Second Bakhshī.[1]

1. See Appendix-C(B); for his biographical details see also M.U., II, pp.315-317.

APPENDIX-A

Genealogical Chart of Rūḥullah Khān's Family

1. Mīr Niẓāmuddīn Abd

2. Saiyid Naʿīmuddīn Shāh Niʿamatullah II
   = Khānish Begum sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī

3. Amīr Ghiyāṣuddīn Muḥammad Mīr Mīrān Yazdī I

4 D. (Parī Paikar Khānam)
   = Ismaʿīl Mirzā Ṣafavī (Later - Shāh Ismaʿīl II)

Children of 3:

5. Mīr Niʿamatullah III
   = (a) Khānish Khānam d/o Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī
   (b) Khadīja Sulṭān Begum

6. Mīr Khalīl-ullah Yazdī I
   = 8

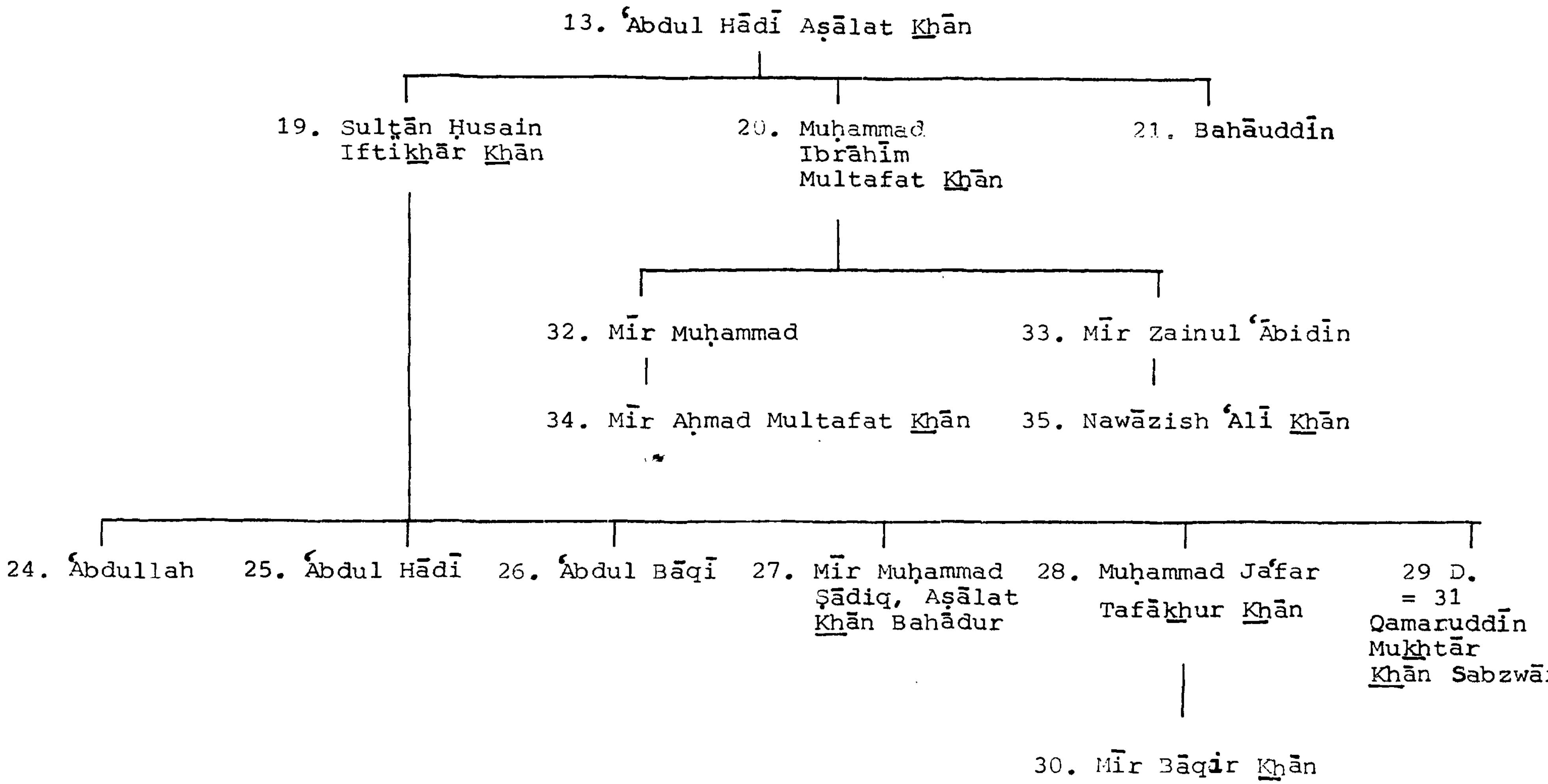
7 D.
   = (a) Yaktāsh Khān
   (b) Yaʿqūb Khān

Child of 4:

8. Sulṭān Begum
   = 6

6. Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī I
= 8

- 9. Mīr Mīrān Yazdī
  = (a) in Irān (b) 11. Ṣāliḥa Bāno d/o Āṣaf Khān
  - 13. ʿAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān
  - 14. Khalīlullah Khān II
    = 17. Ḥamīda Bāno d/o Saif Khān, Mirzā Ṣafī
    - 36. Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān III
      = 40 Jān Nawāz Begum alias Ṣāhibjī d/o ʿAlī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul Umarā'
    - 37 D.
      = 22
    - 38. Rūḥullah Khān I
      = 41 d/o Shāista Khān Amīr-ul Umarā'
    - 39. ʿAzīzullah
  - 15. ʿAbdul Kāfī Nawāzish Khān
  - 16. Shahzāda Begum
    =18. Mirzā Ṣaf Shikan Khān g/s Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī
    - 22. Saifuddīn Kāmyāb Khān
      = 37
    - 23. Muḥammad Nāṣir, Nuṣrat Khān
- 10. Mīr Ẓahīruddīn
  - 12. Mīr Niʿamatullah
    = d/o Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī


13. ʿAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān
19. Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān
20. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Multafat Khān
21. Bahāuddīn
32. Mīr Muḥammad
33. Mīr Zainul ʿAbidīn
34. Mīr Aḥmad Multafat Khān
35. Nawāzish ʿAlī Khān
24. ʿAbdullah
25. ʿAbdul Hādī
26. ʿAbdul Bāqī
27. Mīr Muḥammad Ṣādiq, Aṣālat Khān Bahādur
28. Muḥammad Jaʿfar Tafākhur Khān
29 D. = 31 Qamaruddīn Mukhtār Khān Sabzwāı
30. Mīr Bāqir Khān

36. Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān Yazdī III
= 40 **Ṣāḥibjī**

- 42. Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī, Mīr Khān
- 43. Muḥammad Ja'far, 'Aqīdat Khān
- 44. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Maraḥmat Khān
  = 58 d/o 63
  - 79. Baqāullah Khān
    = 80. d/o Mirzā Muḥsin s/o Abūl Manṣūr Khān Safdarjang
- 45. Muḥammad Isḥāq Amīr Khān
- 46. Khadīja Begum
  = 64
- 47. Hādī Khān
- 48. Saif Khān
  - 59. Fakhruddīn Ḥusain Khān, Khān Bahādur
    = 62 d/o Nawāb Sa'īd Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Ṣaulat Jang
- 49. **As**adullah Khān
- 50. Mīr Abūl Ḥasan
- 51. Muḥammed Ḥasan (Ḥusain)
- 52. Mohd. Kāẓim
- 53. D.
  = 60 Mīr 'Abdul 'Alī
- 54. Muḥammad Khwāja
- 55. Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī
- 56 D.
  = 61 Prince 'Izzuddīn S/o Prince Mu'izzuddīn

Note: Ṣāḥibjī was childless and Amīr Khān had no child by her. These Children were mostly by concubines (M.U. I(a), 284).

38. Rūḥullah Khān I
= 41 d/o Shāista Khān

- 63. Saifullah Khān
  - 71. D. = 44
- 64. Mīr Ḥasan Khānazād Khān Rūḥullah Khān II = 46
  - 75. Khalīlullah Khān III
  - 76. Mīr Muḥammad Aḥsān, ʿItiqād Khān, Rūḥullah Khān III
  - 77 D.
- 65. Muḥammad Bāqir Bairam Khān
- 66. Kābulī Begum (or Marīyam Bāno) = 72 ʿAqīdat Khān Mīr Muḥammad Mashhadī
  - 78. Pannā Begum = 74
- 67. ʿĀisha Begum = 73 Prince Muḥammad ʿAẓīm S/o Shāh ʿĀlam
  - 81. Rūḥūl Quds
- 68 D.
- 69 Hadiya Begum =74. Mīr Muḥammad Rafīʿ, Sarbuland Khān Bahādur Dilāwar Jang.
- 70. Niʿamatullah Khān

References to the Genealogical Charts

Numbers prefacing the names of persons in the charts	Sources
1:2	M.U., III, 339.
2=Khānish Begum + Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavi	A.A.A., I, 132; Tuzuk, 62, 150; M.U. III, 339.
2:3	A.A.A., I, 145; Tuzuk, 62,150; M.U. III, 339.
2:4 = Ismaʿīl Mirzā Ṣafavi	A.A.A. I, 132; Tuzuk, 62.
3:5,6	A.A.A. I, 145; Tuzuk, 62, 150; M.U. III, 339.
5 = Khānish Khānam d/o Shāh Ṭahmāsp	A.A.A. I, 136, 228; II, 431; Tuzuk, 62,150.
5 = Khadīja Sulṭān Begum d/o Shāh Ṭahmāsp	A.A.A. I, 135.
6 = Sulṭān Begum d/o Shāh Ismaʿīl II	A.A.A. I, 228; Tuzuk, 62, 150; M.U. III, 341.
3:7 = Yaktāsh Khān S/L 3; 7 = Yaʿqūb Khān	M.U. III, 339-40.
8 d/o 4; 8 = 6	A.A.A., I, 228; Tuzuk, 62, 150; M.U. III, 341.
6 : 9, 10	Tuzuk 150, 1[illegible]; M.U. III, 341.
10 ÷ 3 S/o 2	Tuzuk, 346.
10 + 9	Lāhorī I(a), 432, 475.
9 : 13, 14 (from an Irānian wife)	Lāhorī I(a), 299; M.U., III, 341-42.
9 = 11 d/o Āṣaf Khān	M.U., III, 341, 829-30.
9 : 15,16	M.U., III, 829-30.

16 = 18	Lāhorī II, 485; Wāriṣ, 36; M.U. III, 478-79, 829-30.
14 + 13	Ṣādiq Khān f.73(a); M.U. I(b), 775
15 S/o 9; 9 ÷ Āṣaf Khān	Lāhorī II, 116.
15 + 13	Lāhorī II, 240, 471.
18 : 22 = d/o Khalīlullah Khān Yazdī II	Kāẓim, 663; M.U. III,479.
22 S/L 14	M.U. I(b), 781-82.
10 : 12 = d/o Murād Kām Ṣafavī ÷ Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī	Lāhorī II, 374; Wāriṣ, 147; Kāẓim, 287; M.U., III, 342.
14 = 17 d/o Mirzā Ṣafī Saif Khān	M.U. I(b), 775.
13 : 19 +20 +21	Kāẓim, 627,908; M.U. I(a), 172, 252; III, 611.
19 S/o 13	Lāhorī II,677; Wāriṣ, 14, 207; Kāẓim 158.
20 S/o 13, 20+19	Wāriṣ,206,214,255; Kāẓim, 158; M.U. III, 611.
20 : 32, 33	Akhbārāt, 25 R.Y. Ẕilhaj (24th Dec.1681).
32 : 34	T.M., 104.
33 : 35	T.M., 128.
19 : 24, 25, 26	M.A., 219; M.U. I(a), 254-55.
27 S/o 19	T.M., 84; Cf. M.U.I(a), 254-55.
28 S/o 19, 28 : 30	T.M., 117; Cf. M.U. I(a), 254-55.
31 S/L 19	T.M. 26.
14 : 36, 38, 39 + 38	Kāẓim,908;M.U.I(b), 781-82; M.A. 222, 349.

14 : 37 = 22	Kāẓim,663; M.U. I(b),781-82.
39 S/o 14	Kāẓim,487,964.
38 = 41	Kāẓim,477; M.U. II,309,706.
36 = 40 d/o ʿAlī Mardān Khān Amir-ul Umarā'	M.U. I(a),284; Maʿmūrī f.192(a); T.M. II, 9.
36 : 42 = 57	M.A. 477; M.U. I(a),286; T.M. II, 66.
36 : 43,44,45,46, 46=64	M.U. I(a), 286-87.
36 : 42, 50,51,52,54,47,44	Akhbārāt,44 R.Y. 10 Ẕilhij 18 May 1700.
36 : 43,44,55	Akhbārāt,44 R.Y.15 Rabīʿ I, 19 August, 1700.
36 : 52,47,51,54	Akhbārāt,44 R.Y. 17 Ẕilhij, 25 May, 1700.
36 : 46 = 64	T.M. 84.
36 : 47	M.A. 237; T.M. II, 14[illegible].
36 : 44 S/L 58;44:79=80 d/o Mirzā Muḥsin b/o Ṣafdar Jang	M.A.481; T.M. II,58,142-43; M.U. III,713-15.
36 : 43	Akhbārāt, 50 R.Y. Shʿabān, 4 Nov. 1706; T.M., 95.
36 : 45	T.M. II, 102
36 : 55	T.M. II, 118.
36 : 49	T.M. II, 131.
36 : 50	Akhbārāt, 44 R.Y. 12 Ẕilhij 20 May, 1700.
36 : 56 = 61 S/L 36	M.A. 518; Akhbārāt 50 R.Y. Shaban,4 November, 1706; 51 R.Y. 3 Ramẓān, 28 Nov. 1706.
36 : 53 = 60 S/L 36	Akhbārāt, 44 R.Y. 17 Ẕilhij, 25 May, 1700.
36 : 48: 59 = 62	Riyāẓus Salāṭīn,260-61.

38 : 63,64,65	M.U. II, 315.
38 : 66 = 72	M.A. 114; M.U. I(a), 225.
72 : 78 = 74	T.M. II, 62.
38 : 67 = 73 : 81	M.A. 347, 373; M.U. II, 313; T.M. II, 6n, 26.
38 : 68	Aḥkām-i ʿĀlamgīrī, 77-78, 78-81.
38 : 69 = 74	M.U. III, 801-806.
38 : 70	T.M. II, 91.
38 : 63 : 71 = 44 S/1 63	T.M. II, 58.
64 = 46	M.A. 274; T.M. II, 16; M.U. II,315.
64 : 75,76,77	M.U. II, 317; T.M. II, 56, 75.

APPENDIX-B

Members of Rūḥullah Khān's family as Manṣabdārs

S.No.	Name & Title	Rank	Source
A. UNDER JAHĀNGĪR			
1.	Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī	1000/200	Tuzuk, 69, M.U. III, 341.
2.	Mīr Mīrān Yazdī	2500/1400	Tuzuk, 344.
3.	Mīr Ẓahīruddīn	1000/400	Tuzuk, 347.
B. UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN			
1.	Mīr Ẓahīruddīn	1000/400	Qazwīnī, 148(a).
2.	Mīr Niʿmatullah S/o Mīr Ẓahīruddīn	1000/200	Wāriṣ, 147; Ṣāliḥ III, 469.
3.	Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī, Aṣālat Khān	5000/4000	Lāhorī II, 577; M.U. I(a), 170-71.
4.	Khalīlullah' Khān Yazdī	5000/5000 (2-3h)	Ṣāliḥ III, 266, 451.
5.	Nawāzish Khān, ʿAbdul Kāfī	2500/1000	Ṣāliḥ III, 271.
6.	Amīr Khān, Mīr Mīrān	1500/500	Ṣāliḥ III, 463.
7.	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān	1000/500	Ṣāliḥ III, 248.
8.	Mohd. Ibrāhīm, Multafat Khān	1000/1000	Wāriṣ, 367.
C. UNDER AURANGZEB			
1.	Khalīlullah Khān	6000/6000 (2-3 h)	Kāẓim, 119.
2.	ʿAbdul Kāfī, Nawāzish Khān	3000/1200	Kāẓim, 474.

APPENDIX-B Contd.

3.	Amīr Khān, Mīr Mīrān	6000/5000 (3000x2-3h)	Akh. Shawāl 25th R.Y. 24th Oct.1681.
4.	Sultān Husain, Iftikhār Khān	3000/1200	Kāzim, 880.
5.	Muhammad Ibrāhīm, Multafat Khān	3000/1000	M.A. 193.
6.	Rūhullah Khān I	5000/5000	S.D.A., 169.
7.	Khānazād Khān, Rūhullah Khān II	3500/1200	M.A. 404, 459; M.U. II, 315-17.
8.	'Azīzullah Khān S/o Khalīlullah Khān	2000/500	Akh. 10 Ramazān 49th R.Y., 26 Dec. 1707; cf. M.U. II 824 (1500/1000)
9.	Amīr Khān S/o Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	1000/600	M.A.,493; M.U. I(a), 286.
10.	Abūl Hasan S/o Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	700/200	Akh. 12 Zilhaj, 44th R.Y. 20 May, 1700.
11.	Mīr Muhammad 'Alī S/o Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	400/zāt	Akh. 44th R.Y. 15 Rabī' I, 19 August, 1700.
12.	Muhammad Kāzim S/o Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	600/100	Akh. 17 Zilhaj, 44th R.Y. 25 May, 1700.
13.	Mīr Muhammad Hādī S/o Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	600/90	Akh. 44th R.Y. 17 Zilhaj, 25 May, 1700
14.	Mohd. Hasan (or Husain) or Mīr Hasan S/o Mīr Mīrān	500/70	Akh. 17 Zilhaj 44 R.Y. 25 May, 1700.
15.	Muhammad Khwāja S/o Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	500/60	Akh. 44th R.Y. 17 Zilhaj, 25 May, 1700.
16.	Muhammad Ibrāhīm Marahmat Khān s/o Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	1000/300	Akh. 29 Oct.1706 50th R.Y.; M.A. 481-82 gives 1000/250 in 48th R.Y.
17.	Mīr Muhammad Ja'far, 'Aqīdat Khān S/o Mīr Mīrān	800/250	Akh. 44th R.Y. 15 Rabī' I, 19 August, 1700.

APPENDIX-C

Major Central Offices held by the members of Rūhullah Khān's family

S.No.	Year	Name & Title	Office	Reference
A. UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN				
1.	1629-30	Khalīlullah Khān II	Mīr Tuzuk	Lāhorī, I(a), 299.
2.	1632-33 to 1637-38	"	" (A.C.) Mīr Ātish	Ibid.451,474,II,21.
3.	1633-34	Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān	Bakhshī of Ahdīs	Ibid.I(b),67.
4.	1635	"	" (A.C.)	Ibid., 101.
5.	1637-38	Khalīlullah Khān II	Mīr Ātish & Qarāwalbegī	Ibid., II,21.
6.	1638-39	"	Qarāwalbegī (A.C.)	Ibid., 143.
7.	1639-40 Till 1640-41	"	Qarāwalbegī	Ibid., 179,204.
8.	1639	Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī, Aṣālat Khān	2nd Bakhshī	Ibid.,161.
9.	1639	"	Ākhtabegī (A.C.)	Ibid., 170.
10.	1640-41	Khalīlullah Khān II	Qaushbegī & Ākhtabegī	Ibid.,228.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

11.	1644-45 Till 1649-50	Khalīlullah Khān II	2nd Bakhshī Qaushbegī (A.C.)	Ibid., 385.
12.	1644-47	Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī, Aṣālat Khān	Mīr Bakhshī	Lāhorī, II, 385, 657, Z.Kh. III, 32.
13.	1647-48	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān	Dārogha of Qūrkhāna	Wāriṣ, 14; M.U., I(a), 252.
14.	1648-49	Mīr ʿAbdul Kāfī, Nawāzish Khān	Tuzuk (A.C.)	Wāriṣ, 60.
15.	1649-50 Till 1650-51	Khalīlullah Khān II	Mīr Bakhshī 2nd Bakhshī (A.C.)	Wāriṣ, 129; Apparatus, (S5415)
16.	1649-50 Till 1655-56	Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān	Dārogha-i Dāgh	Wāriṣ, 99-100, 309.
17.	1650-51	Khalīlullah Khān II	Mīr Bakhshī (A.C.)	Apparatus, (S5415)
18.	1652-53	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm S/o Aṣālat Khān	Bakhshī of Aḥdīs	Wāriṣ, 214.
19.	1653-54	"	Dārogha-i Peshkash	Wāriṣ, 255; M.U. III, 611.
20.	1655-56	Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān S/o Khalīlullah Khān II	Mīr Tuzuk	Wāriṣ, 318.
21.	1656-57	Mīr ʿAbdul Kāfī, Nawāzish Khān	Qūrbegī	Wāriṣ, 365.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

22.	1656-57	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm S/o Aṣālat Khān	Faujdār Miyān-i Doāb	Wāriṣ,367.
23.	1657-58	Amīr Khān	Mīr Tuzuk (A.C.)	Ṣāliḥ,III,266; M.U.,I(a),278.
24.	1658	Khalīlullah Khān II	Mīr Bakhshī	Kāẓim,84,95; M.U.I(b),779.

B. UNDER AURANGZEB

1.	1659 till 1663	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān	Ākhtabegī	Kāẓim,289;M.U. I(a),253.
2.	1661-62	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Multafat Khān	Mīr-i Tuzuk	Kāẓim,642.
3.	1662-63	"	Mīr-i Tuzuk & Mīr Bakhshī of Aḥdīs	Kāẓim,752,759.
4.	1663	"	Mīr Bakhshī of Aḥdīs (A.C.), Ākhtabegī	Kāẓim,830.
5.	1663	Rūḥullah Khān I	Mīr Bakhshī of Aḥdīs	Kāẓim,830; M.U.II,309-10
6.	1663 till 1670	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān "	Ākhtabegī (A.C.) Mīr-i Sāmān "	Kāẓim,830,832 M.A. 101-102.
7.	1664	Multafat Khān	Ākhtabegī, Mīr Tuzuk also Dārogha-i Gurzbardār & servants of Jilau.	Kāẓim,849;M.U. III, 611-12.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

8.	1667	Multafat Khān	Dārogha-i Gurzbardārān & Mulāzmān-i Jilau (A.C.)	Kāẓim,966.
9.	1667	"	Ākhtabegī & Mīr Tuzuk (A.C.)	Kāẓim,978.
10.	1668 till	Rūḥullah Khān I	Mīr Bakhshī of Ahdis (A.C.), Ākhtabegī	Kāẓim,1061.
	1671	"	" (A.C.)	M.A.108.
11.	1669-70	Amīr Khān S/o Khalīl-ullah Khān.	Dārogha-i Mansabdārān-i-Jilau	M.A. 80; M.U. I(?), 278.
12.	1669-70	"	" (A.C.)	M.A. 82.
13.	1670	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān	Khān-i Sāmān (A.C.)	M.A.,101-102.
14.	1670	Multafat Khān	Dārogha-i Gurzbardārān (A.C.)	Ibid.
15.	1671	Rūḥullah Khān I	Ākhtabegī (A.C.)	Ibid. 108.
16.	1672	Multafat Khān	Dārogha of servants of Jilau	M.U. III,612.
17.	1674-75	Multafat Khān	Dārogha-i topkhāna	M.A. 141-42.
18.	1675-76	"	" (A.C.)	Ibid. 150.
19.	1677-78	Rūḥullah Khān I	Ākhtabegī	Ibid. 150.
20.	1678	"	Khān-i Sāmān	Ibid. 156.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

21.	1678	Rūḥullah Khān I	Mīr Tuzuk (A.C.)	Ibid.157-58.
22.	1678-79	"	Ākhtabegī (A.C.)	Ibid.163.
23.	1680	"	Ākhtabegī	Ibid.172.
24.	1680-81	"	" (A.C.) Mīr-i Ātish	Ibid.176.
25.	1681	"	Mīr Bakhshī	Ibid.187.
26.	1682	"	2nd Bakhshī	Ibid.195.
27.	1683-84	ʿAzīzullah S/o Khalīlullah Khān	Mīr-i Tuzuk	Ibid.222;M.U.II,823-24.
28.	1688 till 1693	Rūḥullah Khān I	Mīr Bakhshī	M.U.II,311
		"	" (A.C.)	M.A. 348;K.K. II,407; Maʾmūrī, f.185(a).
29.	1693	Ruhullah Khan II	Qūrbegī	M.A.,349;M.U. II,316
30.	1695	"	Dārogha-i Bandahā-i Jilau	M.U. II,316.
31.	1695	"	Mīr-i Ātish	M.A. 370.
32.	1696	"	Dārogha-i Khāṣ Chauki (.A.C.)	Ibid.380.
33.	1698	"	Khān-i Sāmān	Ibid.386.
34.	1699	"	" also Dārocha-i Dīwān-i Khāṣ	Ibid.392.

APPENDIX-C Contd.

35.	1700	Rūḥullah Khān II	Khān-i Sāmān & Dārogha-i Dīwān-i Khās	Ibid.396.
36.	1700-1701	"	Dārogha-i Dīwān-i Khās (A.C.)	Ibid.404.
37.	1701	"	Dārogha-i Jilau	Ibid.406; M.U.II,317.
38.	1702	"	Qūrbegī & Bakhshī of Ahdis (A.C.) 2nd Bakhshī	M.A.434.
39.	1702	"	Bakhshī & Mīr-i Ātish (H)	K.K.II,488.
40.	1704	"	Bakhshī-ul Mulk (H)	M.A.,472.
41.	1705	"	2nd Bakhshī (A.C.) (Died)	Ibid.489;K.K.II,524; M.U.II,317.
42.	1705	Amīr Khān S/o Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān	Dārogha-i Dāgh-o Tashiha of Shāhjahānābād	Akhbārāt,.49 R.Y. 7 Feb.1705

APPENDIX-D

Governorships held by the members of Rūhullah Khān's family

S.No.	Year	Name & Title	Office	Reference
A.	UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN			
1.	1635	Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī, Aṣālat Khān	Ṣūbedār Delhi	Lāhorī I(b),87.
2.	1635	"	Ṣūbedār of Jaunpur(A.C.)	Qazwīnī,341(b).
3.	1637	"	Ṣūbedār of Delhi (A.C.)	Lāhorī I(b),280.
4.	1650-51 Till 1657-58	Khalīlullah Khān "	Ṣūbedār of Delhi "	Wāriṣ,197,352; (S5410); Ṣālih,III,266.
B.	UNDER AURANGZEB			
1.	1658-59 Till 1661-62	Khalīlullah Khān "	Hākim Punjāb "	**Wāqiʿāt-i ʿĀlamgīrī,110.** K.K.II,124; M.A.,38; Maʿmūrī,f.122(b).
2.	1659-60	Amīr Khān S/o Khalīlullah Khān	Dy. Ṣūbedār Lahore	Kāẓim,473.
3.	1660-61 Till 1665-66	" "	Ṣūbedār Kābul "	Maʿmūrī,f.122(b); K.K.II,129. Kāẓim,927,937.

APPENDIX-D Contd.

4.	1669-70 Till 1671-72	Amīr Khān S/o Khalīlullah Khān	Sūbedār Allahabad	M.A.,82;M.U. I(a),278.
		"	"	M.A.,110,112.
5.	1671 Till 1673	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān	Sūbedār Kashmir	M.U. I(a),254
		"	"	M.A.,125.
6.	1671-72 Till 1674-75	Amīr Khān S/o Khalīlullah Khān	Sūbedār Kābul	K.K. II,241.
		"	"	M.A.132;M.U. I(a),279.
7.	1675-76	"	Sūbedār Bihar	M.A.139;Ibid.
8.	1676-77	"	Sūbedār Bihar (A.C.)	M.A.148.
9.	1677-78 Till 1699-1700	"	Sūbedar Kābul	M.A.157;M.U. I(a) 280-81.
		"	"	M.A.,394;M.U. I(a) 281.
10.	1678-79	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān	Sūbedār Ajmer	M.U. I(a),254.
11.	1679-80	"	" (A.C.)	M.A. 173-74.
12.	1688	Rūḥullah Khān I	Sūbedār Bijapur	M.A.,282;M.U. II,311.
13.	1689	"	Sūbedār Hyderabad	M.U. II,313.
14.	1696	Rūḥullah Khān II	Sūbedār Ajmer	Akhbārāt,39 R.Y. 30 Jan.1696.
15.	1696-97	"	Sūbedār Bidar & Nānder	M.A. 384-85;Akh. 40 R.Y. April,11 1696.

APPENDIX-E

Faujdārīs and Qilʿadārīs held by the members of Rūhullah Khān's family

S.No.	Year	Name & Title	Office	Reference
A. UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN				
1.	1647-48	Khalīlullah Khān	Faujdār of Mewāt	Wāriṣ, 12.
2.	1649-50	"	Qilʿadār of Kabul	Ibid. 95.
3.	1651-52	Sultān Husain, Iftikhār Khān	Faujdār Miyān-i Doāb	M.U. I(a), 252.
B. UNDER AURANGZEB				
1.	1658 Till 1666	Amīr Khān, Mīr Mīrān "	Faujdār of Kohistān-i-Jammū " (A.C.)	M.U. I(a), 278. Kāẓim, 965.
2.	1666	Mīr ʿAbdul Kāfī, Nawāzish Khān	Faujdār Māndū (A.C.)	Kāẓim, 908.
3.	1671	Multafat Khān	Qilʿadār of Agra	M.U. III, 612.
4.	1673	"	Faujdār of Langarkot (in Peshāwar)	Ibid., 612.
5.	1674	Rūhullah Khān I	Faujdār of Dhāmunī	M.A. 127; M.U. II, 310.
6.	1674-75	Multafat Khān	Faujdār Langarkot (A.C.)	Ibid., 141.
7.	1676	Rūhullah Khān	Faujdār Sahāranpur (or Miyān-i Doāb)	Ibid. 144; M.U. II, 310.

APPENDIX-E Contd.

8.	1676-77	Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān	Faujdār of the two Bangashes	Ibid,153;M.U.I(a),254.
9.	1680-81 Till	"	Faujdār Jaunpur	Ibid.,193;Ibid,254.
	1681-82	"	" (A.C.) Died	Ibid.,209;Ibid.
10.	1680-81	Multafat Khān	Faujdār Ghāzīpur Zamānia	Ibid.,193;M.U.III,612.
11.	1681-82	"	" (A.C.) faujdar Agra	Ibid.,209;Ibid,612.
12.	1682	"	" Died (A.C.)	Ibid.; Ibid.612-13; Manucci,II,223-24.
13.	1686	Rūḥullah Khān I	Qilʿadār Ahmadnagar	M.A.260;M.U.II,311.
14.	1687	ʿAzīzullah	Qilʿadār of Bijapur	Ibid,282.
15.	1704	"	Qilʿadār Qandahār fort (in the Deccan)	Ibid,461.

CHAPTER - SEVEN

IRĀNĪS AND COMMERCE

I. SHĀISTA KHĀN

II. MĪR JUMLA

CHAPTER SEVEN

IRĀNĪS AND COMMERCE

(I) SHĀISTA KHĀN

It is widely recognised that members of the Mughal nobility were not averse to pursuing commercial and economic activities. There are cases of members of every section of the ruling class, from princes to petty officers, participating in this activity.[1] The Mughal nobles, whether jāgirdārs or naqdīs (receiving pay from treasury), derived their income mainly in cash, and they are said to have accumulated enormous treasures in specie, cash and jewels.[2] Nobles who had large amount of cash in hand, often invested it in trade, either by engaging in trade directly or by making advances to merchants.[3] They also invested some amount in sea-borne trade. Tavernier says, "on arrival for embarkation at Surat, you find plenty of money. For it is the principal trade of the nobles of India to place their money on speculation for Harmuz, Bassora and Mocha and even for Bantam, Achin and Philippenes."[4]

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1. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (ed.) The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol. I,C. 1200-C, 1750, Delhi, 1982, p. 182 (hereafter see C.E.H.I.). For revenue collectors called shiqqdārs being engaged in commercial activities see Fray Sebastian Manrique, Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique (1628-41), trans. C.E. Luard and H. Hosten, Hakluyt Society, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 440-41, who mentions that the shiqqdār of Pipli sent 'a big new ship' to Cochin loaded with different kinds of merchandise.
2. C.E.H.I., Vol. I, p. 183.
3. Mughal Nobility, op.cit., p. 154.
4. Tavernier, Vol.I,pp. 37-38 cf. A.Das Gupta in C.E.H.I., Vol. I, p. 422.

Apart from the capital advances the Mughal nobles and sometimes members of the royal family were also engaged in business investment.[1] In 1640-41, for instance, Shāh Jahān and Āṣaf Khān invested Rs.100,000 in cloth at Ahmadabad for Mokha and ordered weavers and dyers not to work for anyone else until this order had been supplied.[2] Sometimes they had their own ships which sailed to different ports laden with either their own goods or, in some cases, with the cargo of other merchants.[3] It is well known, that "Private trade or Saudā-i-khāṣ of the Governor was a characteristic feature of India's economic life in the 17th and 18th centuries. Many influential personages such as Mirzā Isḥāq Beg (Governor of Surat), Mīr Jumla, Shujā', Shāista Khān and 'Aẓīm-ush Shān (in Bengal) were involved in this device."[4]

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1. Empress Nūr Jahān and her brother Āṣaf Khān had extensive trade interests in the Persian Gulf and until their ships were laden or goods sold none else could do so. See B.G. Gokhale, Surat in the Seventeenth Century, Bombay, 1979, p. 55.

2. Dāgh Register (1640-41), p. 308 as cited by Tapan Ray Chaudhuri in C.E.H.I., Vol. I, p. 183n.

3. Dārā Shukoh had his own junks which sailed to Persia. Shāhjahān's ship 'Ganjāwar' together with five junks of Surat was forced to anchor at Gombroon by the customs officers who overrated all the goods and levied 20 percent of customs. See E.F.I. (1646-50), pp. 318, 324. Cf. Iftikhar Ahmad Khan, 'Indian Merchants in Iran in the 17th century', (unpublished) in the cyclostyled volume of Aligarh Papers on Medieval Indian History, presented at 44th Session of Indian History Congress held at Burdwan in 1983, p. 158.

4. Jagdish Narain Sarkar, 'Private Trade in Seventeenth Century India', in J.B.R.S., Vol. 49, 1963, p. 200; also see by the same author, Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India, Delhi, 1975, pp. 181-82.

Shāista Khān happens to be one of the nobles, about whose commercial activities we have considerable information.

He sought to obtain gains from trade during his viceroyalty of Gujarat (1646-47 and 1651-53) and Bengal (1664-77 and 1679-88). He appears to have tried to monopolise and control trade of many important articles. While Governor of Gujarat, in 1647, he forced the banjāras to sell him sugar and thus made a profit gain of a 1,000 rupees. His rigorous attempt to monopolise the commodity caused a great scarcity of the commodity. "Sugar is scarce and dear, the governor's tyranny having deterred the merchants from bringing any down."[1] He also wanted to engross all the indigo collected in the city of Ahmadabad and its environs. He summoned the English indigo brokers which caused much resentment among the factors.[2] In June 1647 the factors at Ahmadabad

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1. E.F.I. (1646-50), p.155.

2. They are found apprehensive of Shāista Khān's ambitions for becoming "the sole merchant of this place" and declare that if he succeeded in engrossing the indigo "Wee may then expect shortly to fetch our butter and rice from him." See the letter of George Tash, Hugh Fenn and Anthony Smith, factors at Ahmadabad, to the President and Council at Surat, dated May 17, 1647 in E.F.I. (1646-50), p. 130; see also Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707), Bombay, 1963, p. 80 n.

reported about the arbitrary behaviour of the governor towards the indigo dealers. Again on July 10, 1647 they reported that trade in Gujarat was at a standstil, owing to the governor's tyrannical behaviour and the troubles with the carters who brought down the goods from Agra.[1]

In August 1647 the saltpetre of the English was seized. George Tash negotiated with Shāista Khān who, after much trouble, allowed the factors to weigh only that much quantity of saltpetre for which they had already paid. They were thus allowed to take saltpetre worth only 1,500 rupees, which they had disbursed for saltpetre in Malpur.[2] The Dutch were faced somewhat similar conditions. Their saltpetre was taken over by the governor who just paid them what they had disbursed there on.[3]

Shāista Khān also tried to engross the cloth trade of Gujarat. Many obstacles were put in the procurement of chints and tappichindaes by the English and Dutch merchants for their Bantam investment.[4]

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1. E.F.I. (1646-50), pp. 133, 136.
2. It was contrary to Shāista Khān's previous promises publicly made allowing the English merchants to procure 5,000 maunds of saltpetre and for that he had also taken a bribe of Rs. 280. See E.F.I. (1646-50), p. 150.
3. Ibid., p. 156.
4. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

In 1653, claiming to have received orders from the King, he stopped saltpetre export of the English merchants. They were refused permission to put it aboard the ships at Diu or to embark the goods at any other port than Surat.[1] The English and Dutch factors alleged that Shāista Khān wholly ruined the trade of Ahmadabad by oppressing and robbing men of all qualities, especially merchants, either directly by seizing upon their goods, or indirectly by sharing in their profit of whatever was bought or sold.[2] Aurangzeb's prohibitory orders to the officers in Gujarat asking them not to buy grain cheap and sell it dear, suggests that such interference with the market had been common[3] and that Shāista Khān was not an exception.

In Bengal too, Shāista Khān appears to have tried to profit by interfering with commerce. The English records are full of references to his extortions and covetousness.[4]

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1. E.F.I.,(1651-54), p. 215.

2. Ibid., (1646-50), p. 187.

3. Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, Vol. I, pp. 286-88; Cf. C.E.H.I., Vol.I, 183; also see Mughal Nobility, p. 159.

4. E.F.I., relevant volumes passim; also Charles Stewart, The History of Bengal, Second edition, Calcutta, 1910, pp. 338-53; C.R. Wilson, The Early Annals of the English in Bengal: Being the Bengal Public Consultations for the first half of the Eighteenth Century, Calcutta, 1895, pp. 48, 79, 90, 98, 111, 118.

Despite imperial farmāns and official permits he is alleged to have stopped trade in saltpetre and the merchandise of the English merchants at every post and ferry and charged them customs-duty over and over again. Thomas Bowrey says, "Dacca could take a large quantity of Europe goods if it were under another Nabob, the present being most covetous."[1] He realised the cesses (abwābs) abolished by imperial charters and monopolized the internal trade of Bengal in commodities of daily use such as salt, supārī (betel-nuts) and even the fodder of animals.[2] Shāista Khān's private enterprise provided great obstacles to free trade in Bengal.

Shāista Khān used to have brought down by boats salt, supārī (betel-nuts) and other articles, and sold them in Bengal on profitable rates. He also sold these articles to the merchants and traders at Dacca and thus prevented them from making purchases and sales on their own account. This act of Shāista Khān's injustice was reported to Aurangzeb, and Shāista Khān was, therefore, recalled to the court in 1677.[3] Perhaps salt was the most profitable commodity in Bengal during those days, owing to the meagreness of local supply. One may easily presume the volume of

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1. A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-79, ed. R.C. Temple, Cambridge, 1905, p.146n.

2. Master, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 80-81; Cf. J.N. Sarkar, The History of Bengal, Muslim Period (1200-1757), Patna, 1973, p. 374.

3. S.K. Bhuyan, Annals of the Delhi Badshahate, Gauhati, 1947, pp. 167-68.

his trade in this single commodity by the fact that he had large emporiums of salt at several places on the bank of the Bangsha river. In 1677 (when he was recalled to the court) these emporiums held salt worth 152,000 rupees which he left in the custody of one of his subordinate officers as he could not transport it before his departure from Bengal.[1] These salt depots occupied a large area of land and when the new governor Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam planned to construct a large market complex for which ample space was required, he demolished the depots and threw the salt into the river.[2]

It was proverbial that Shāista Khān had amassed a large amount of wealth. The property, which after his death, was taken into the imperial exchequer, was held to be beyond computation.[3] Besides his trading activities he is said to have accumulated seventeen crores of rupees by procuring two or three tolas of gold for one gold muhr,[4] which is, perhaps, an exaggerated reference to his insistence on higher rates for his muhrs. It is said that in thirteen

1. S.K. Bhuyan, op.cit., pp. 169-70.
2. Ibid., p. 170.
3. M.U., II, p. 705. Cf. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 322.
4. S.K. Bhuyan, op.cit., p. 168.

years (1664-1677) as governor of Bengal he accumulated 380 million rupees.[1] Shāista Khān's monopoly in bees wax[2] and the extent of his possessions is further corroborated by Shāh Nawāz Khān's account who on the testimony of a reliable source says that once when Aurangzeb was hunting, some wax was needed. But the officials deputed to collect the wax could not procure even a grain of it. The Khān-i Sāmān reported that it was only available in the stores of Shāista Khān at Delhi. An order was issued to borrow some to meet urgent requirements. As the Khān, at that time, was in Bengal it would have taken a long time to have his permission. Shāista Khān's agent in Delhi, therefore offered 200 maunds of wax, and one or two thousand articles of wax, each weighing 2-3 maunds, on his own account, and that too with an excuse of not being able to furnish more in the absence of his master. It is also said that the wax was stored in wells specially dug for the purpose and during summer water was put into them to keep the wax from melting.[3]

The general allegation that Shāista Khān's activities were ruinous for European trade in Bengal seems exaggerated. On several occasions, as is evident from the English Factory Records, he granted the factors privileges such as exemption

1. Master, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 493.
2. C.E.H.I., Vol. I, p. 183. Cf. Master, Vol. I, pp. 15, 53, 321; Vol. II, 26, 27, 83.
3. M.U., Vol. II, p. 706.

from customs duty and permission to trade in saltpetre.[1]

True, Shāista Khān sent his dārogha (agent) to Patna, the principal place of saltpetre manufacture, with a commission to buy 20,000 maunds of saltpetre in May 1664, and with orders to forbid the Dutch and the English from procuring any saltpetre before the imperial requirement was obtained. Job Charnock, the English factor at Patna, misconstrued this order and alleged that Shāista Khān wanted to take the whole trade into his own hands and to sell saltpetre again to the English and the Dutch at profitable rates.[2] Similarly, writing from Hugli to the Surat Factors on 21 June 1664 William Blake warned the factors that Shāista Khān wanted to engross all those goods in which he thought of commercial gains.[3] But Shāista Khān's attempt to procure saltpetre for himself was in compliance with the imperial requisition of a large quantity of saltpetre required for King's wars in the Deccan and Arakan. Whether the imperial requisition was fulfilled is not known. Charnock himself admits that if he was supplied with necessary funds, he would be able to procure 25 or 30,000 maunds of saltpetre

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1. E.F.I.(1661-64), p. 395; (1665-67), p. 135, 138; (1668-69), p. 316, etc.
2. Ibid., pp. 395-96.
3. Ibid., p. 395.

yearly, 'whereas hitherto 18,000 had been the limit'.[1] In 1665 factors from Bengal wrote that "if (we) had moneys, 1000 tonns might easily yearly be procured."[2]

Stewart also believes that Shāista Khān's administration provided a favourable environment for the English Company's trade to grow.[3] Whereas in 1659 its Bengal investment amounted to only £ 10,000, it was raised to £ 85,000 in 1674, to £ 100,000 in 1677 and to over £ 1,50,000 in 1681.[4] An analysis of Shāista Khān's parwānas which he granted to the English, from time to time, shows that his attitude towards them was not unfriendly. In almost all of his parwānas he ordered his underlings that henceforth they were bound not to cheat the English traders not to create any restraint in the transportation of their goods either on land or on water.

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1. E.F.I. (1661-64), p. 396.

2. Ibid., (1665-67), p. 139.

3. History of Bengal, op.cit., p. 331.

4. M. Mohar Ali, 'Nawab Shaista Khan and the East India Company's Trade in Bengal, 1664-1669, in J.A.S. Pak, Vol. X, No. 2, December, 1965, p. 89. This expansion in the volume of Bengal trade led the Company in 1682 to separate the Bengal factories from the control of the Madras Council and to set them on an independent footing. William Hedges was appointed agent and governor with special powers in the Bay of Bengal with his seat at Hugly, the first military establishment of the Company in Bengal. See Stewart, op.cit., pp. 339-40.

He also condemns those officials who committed malpractices. He ordered the officials to provide all kinds of help to the factors in their dealings with their local agents and other traders.[1]

Shihābuddīn Ṭālish remarks that the former governors of Bengal used to farm out (ijāra) trade in most of the articles of food and clothing and all merchandise and then sell them at arbitrarily set rates, which the necessitious people had to agree to. Whenever ships brought elephants and other articles to the ports of Bengal the ṣubedār's men used to confiscate (qurq) them and take whatever they selected at prices of their own liking. Shāista Khān, on taking charge of the province, is said to have forbidden these practices and to have moreover decreed that there should be freedom for everyone to buy and sell.[2]

Shāista Khān governed Bengal for about a quarter century and during his government peace, and commerce flourished. The commodities of daily use were so cheap that 320 seers or 8 maunds of rice was sold to a rupee.[3]

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1. See copies of parwānas of Shāista Khān in the collection of Farmāns, Nishāns and Parwānas, issued in favour of English East India Company, from 1637 to 1712, British Museum, Add. 24039.

2. Shihābuddīn Ṭālish, Fathiyah-i ʿIbriyah, OR. MS. Bodl.589, ff. 127(a)-(b); also see Jadu Nath Sarkar, 'Shaista Khan in Bengal, 1664-1666', in J.A.S.B.(second series) Vol. 2, June 1906, p. 263.

3. Riyāẓ-us Salāṭīn, op.cit., p. 228.

Tālish remarks that it was due to Shāista Khān's excellent arrangements that from the beginning till the writing of his book the price of grain in the army had been almost equal to the price in Dacca.[1]

On the whole it appears that Shāista Khān participated actively in trading activities, and enforced monopolies wherever possible. But the English factors' accounts tend to exaggerate his faults. Where his own interests were not involved, he was not unfriendly to the Europeans and during his governorship of Bengal the trade of the Companies flourished.

(II) MĪR JUMLA

If Shāista Khān offers the best example of a Mughal noble engaged in internal trade, Mīr Jumla is the best example of a noble indulging successfully in sea-borne trade. Besides holding the reputation of an able statesman, general and diplomat, he is also known for his frequent business deals with European factors, to whom he even advanced loans. In 1642-43, the English factors are reported

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1. Fatḥiyah-i ʿIbriyah, ff. 160(a)-(b).

to have decided to borrow 4 or 5 thousand pagodas from him at Golkonda at an interest of 1½% a month for 4 or 5 months.[1] He also lent the English in Madras (Fort St. George) '16,000 rials of eight on twelve months gratis.'[2] Mīr Jumla himself occasionally borrowed money from the English factors, apparently to financing his business enterprises.[3] He was in a real sense a 'merchant prince', his ships carrying on trade between Arakan, Southern India, Bengal, Persia and Arabia.[4]

His mercantile temperament had its origin in his family background. As has been mentioned above (Chapter 6 Section IV) his father was a petty oil-merchant of Iṣfahān. At the very beginning of his career, Mīr Jumla joined the service of a diamond merchant in Persia as a clerk. He came to India and reached Golkonda with a Persian horse merchant.[5] Soon after his arrival, we are informed that he went through the streets from door to door selling shoes.[6]

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1. E.F.I.(1642-45), pp. 69, 79.
2. Ibid.,(1646-50), XXViii, 166-67.
3. Cf. Mir Jumla op.cit., p. 94.
4. E.F.I.(1651-54), p. 12.
5. Bernier, p. 16; Manucci, I, pp. 231-32.
6. Manucci, I, pp. 231-32.

Thus by the time he arrived in India he had acquired ample experience as a merchant and was well versed in the art of business. We have the testimony of Bernier that Mīr Jumla's "lineage was not noble, but his talents were of the first order: he was an accomplished soldier, and deeply versed in business."[1] Within a few years of his arrival at Golkonda his business acumen seems to have paid off. Manucci writes that he made a present to the King of Golkonda of some fine elephants and various cloths of Europe and China and 'in this way he was well received and obtained an appointment with good pay.'[2]

Mīr Jumla's extensive and well organised commercial enterprises, both internal and external, constituted one of the principal sources of his revenue. He charged monopoly prices and tried to control internal production. His commercial activities, for the sake of convenience, may be studied in two phases — Karnataka and Bengal. In the first phase, as sar-i khail of Golkonda from 1637, Mīr Jumla continued his efforts to prevent the loss to

1. Bernier, p. 16.

2. He was appointed as Sar-i Khail, an important office the incumbent of which had to discharge military, civil and revenue functions. See Mir Jumla op.cit., pp. 9,10. For his salary being 3000 huns see H.K. Sherwani, History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty, New Delhi, 1974, p. 507.

customs revenue of the State, arising from the illegal profits of the English by insisting on the strict application of the Golden farmān (of February 26, 1634).[1] His outlook seems to have been legal and rational. But he moulded his policy as suited his own interests even at the cost of those of the State.[2] Consequently, when Mīr Jumla emerges as all powerful wazīr of Golkonda, the European factors adopted the policy of appeasement viz-a-viz the

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1. As Governor of Masulipatam from 1635-6, Mīr Jumla viewed with jealousy the commercial concessions enjoyed by the English. By the Golden farmān the English had secured complete exemption from all customs in the Golkonda kingdom on certain conditions, and the farmers of the Masulipatam customs had been allowed to pay 800 pagodas (about £400) less a year to the State treasury by way of compensation for the resultant loss. The farmān was to become invalid if the duties payable by the English exceeded that amount. But Mīr Jumla and other officers at Masulipatam viewed these commercial concessions of the English with grave concern, as they involved the State in great loss of customs revenues, owing to unlicensed practices on the part of the English East India Company's traders. Mīr Jumla together with the Dutch, therefore, took steps against them and acquainted the Sulṭān of their violation of the Golden farmān. The result was that the Sar-i Khail (ʻAbdullah Khān Māzandarānī) and the Dabīr (Mullā Wais) of the Golkonda court demanded from the English the excess over 800 pagodas, the stipulated yearly abatement. See Mir Jumla, pp. 8, 92.

2. Mir Jumla, pp. 92-93.

Mīr. Hence they offered him presents, lent him personnel - pilots, sailors, gunners — and carried his cargoes on their own ships without charging freight and customs. Mīr Jumla, in turn, helped them on various occasions, by lending money, confirming their privileges, and allowing them to use his ships and pilots. Thus he tried to use them as an instrument for the realisation of his commercial and political ambitions.[1]

By 1647, besides his political and administrative engagements in Karnataka, Mīr Jumla expanded his sea-borne trade and his junks plied between Masulipatam, Surat, Gombroon, Mokha, Peru, Pegu etc.[2] In 1651 Mīr Jumla is said to have owned 400 horses, 300 elephants, 400 or 500 camels, and 10,000 Oxen for transporting his goods to several countries like Golkonda and Bijapur and also into different parts of the Mughal Empire. He also had trade relations with Pegu, Tenasserim (Mergui Archipelago), Achin, Arakan (in Burma), Persia, Bengal, Mokha, Peruk, Maldives and Macassar. His fleet then consisted of ten ships and he intended to build more.[3] For this purpose he appears to have

1. Mir Jumla, pp. 93-94.
2. E.F.I. (1646-50), pp. 98, 139, 273. At that time Golkonda merchants were obliged to carry their own goods to these places on ships mostly owned by Mīr Jumla. See W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, New Delhi, 1972, p. 86.
3. E.F.I. (1651-54), p. 12.

employed an English man Thomas Pratt for Rs.500/- per month, whose duty apart from building boats, was to make ammunition for river fighting.[1] He also possessed a large crew of sailors and navigators for his fleet, including both Muslims and Europeans.[2]

It seems that Mīr Jumla was always keen in exploring profitable commodities and favourable markets. Whenever he got such opportunities he never failed in making profits thereof. Thus we see him dealing in different commodities with different countries. Burma, for instance was famous for her 'perfect Rubies and Sapphires', its gumlack was of the finest quality, martaban jars, gold, copper, tin, quicksilver, bell-metal (ganza) and benzoin were also available there. Mīr Jumla, therefore, negotiated with the ruler of Pegu (known as 'the Lord of White Elephants') for establishing commercial relations, in which he was successful and Mīr Jumla's junks laden with his own freight goods sailed regularly from Masulipatam to Pegu, while his servants and agents used to constantly journey to and from Pegu, sometimes on Dutch ships (e.g. 1653). Mīr Jumla sometimes employed English private traders (e.g.

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1. Manucci, II, pp. 87, 102.
2. Mir Jumla, p. 84.

Richard Cogan in 1647) to conduct commercial operations on his behalf with Pegu. The political disturbances in Pegu due to the Chinese invasion adversely affected Mīr Jumla's trade in 1651. About 1653 the King of Pegu prohibited the sale of tin and tusks to strangers and the export of Ganza and organized guards on the way to Martavan to implement his order.[1]

Arakan was famous for wild elephants. Mīr Jumla corresponded with its ruler Dharmaraja requesting him to grant trade facilities in Arakan to his men, and requested the Raja to release several Mughals long imprisoned in Arakan. The Mīr purchased 4 elephants sent by the Raja to the East Coast and received one as a gift.[2]

Mīr Jumla procured spices from the East Indies, slaves and rice from Macassar, tin from Peruk and cowries from the Maldives in return for the East coast calicoes.[3]

With Persia Mīr Jumla had equally close commercial links. Every year he used to send his junks from the East coast laden with a large quantity of goods.[4] His power and

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1. E.F.I.(1646-50), 98-99, 198; (1651-54), 260, 263; Cf. Mir Jumla, pp. 84, 90n.

2. For Mīr Jumla's Arakan trade see Bowrey op.cit, pp. 73, 222, 245n.

3. E.F.I.(1637-41), 167-8n; (1651-54), 99, 290-91.
4. Ibid. (1646-50), 139, 273; Cf. Mir Jumla, p. 85.

influence as the minister of Golkonda enabled him to utilize the English ships also in transporting his articles to Persia without paying freight and customs. In 1651-52 Mīr Jumla's junk reached Gombroon via Gwador on the Makrān coast and about 200 tumāns were remitted as the Company's share of customs due on his goods from Masulipatam.[1]

Mīr Jumla not only occasionally sent his goods on English and Dutch ships, but there are also statements that even his own junks were sometimes navigated by English and Dutch pilots hired by him. Thus we have names of Roger Adams, Richard Walwyn, John Gayton and Thomas Bostock. Mokha was an important commercial centre where Mīr Jumla regularly sent his junks piloted by Europeans.[2]

In 1656 when Mīr Jumla joined the service of Shāh Jahān, he is said to have made a present to the Emperor amounting to Rs. 15 lakhs and other valuables including the famous Koh-i Nūr.[3] An idea of his wealth may also be had from the fact that while in Golkonda, he maintained his

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1. E.F.I.(1651-54), pp. 67, 117-18, 125-26. Cf. Mir Jumla, p. 85.

2. E.F.I.(1637-41), pp. 76-77, 255; (1642-45), pp. 69,81, 234; (1646-50), pp. 98, 139, 273; (1651-54), pp. 14, 256-57, 268-69.

3. M.U., III, p. 535; for Koh-i Nūr see Manucci I, 237-38 and note; Tavernier, II, Appendix-I, pp. 444-46.

own army equipped with efficient artillery and many European artillerymen.[1] When he was in Mughal service he is also said to have declared that he could maintain his entire establishment and thus supplement the expenditure sanctioned by the emperor from his own resources.[2] Much of this opulence of Mīr Jumla arose out of Mīr Jumla's commercial activities. His diamonds were usually counted in sacks.[3] Thevenot says that Mīr Jumla possessed 20 <u>maunds</u> (40 <u>seers</u> to a <u>maund</u>) of diamonds.[4] He preferred selling the best diamonds to the Portuguese. Dom Phelipe Mascarehnas, the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, was his friend as well as chief customer.[5]

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1. Manucci, I, pp. 232-33. In 1653-54, Aurangzeb sent Muḥammad Momin to report on the affairs of Mīr Jumla. He observed that Mīr Jumla's army numbered 9000 cavalry of which 5000 were his own servants and 4000 Quṭb Shāhī deserters, — and 20,000 infantry, — that his resources consisted of cash, fine jewels, artillery, good elephants, ʿIrāqī and ʿArab horses and all kinds of provisions of pomp and grandeur of superior quality. See ʿAbūl Fatḥ Qābil <u>Khān</u>, <u>Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī</u>, MS. Fārsiyah No. 20, Research Library, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1216 A.H., f. 48(a).

2. S.K. Bhuyan, <u>Lachat Barphukan and His Times</u>, Gauhati, 1947, p. 152.

3. Bernier, p. 17.

4. Thevenot, <u>The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri</u>, (ed.) S.N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 144-5.

5. Bernier, pp. 17-18n; Manucci, I, pp. 232-33.

They exchanged presents. Dom Phelipe sent him several kinds of brocade and porcelain from China, together with many curosities from Japan, and Mīr Jumla sent back gems and diamonds extracted from his Golkonda mines.[1] Two of his diamonds, weighing 57 and 67½ carates, which Dom showed to Tavernier at Goa were probably obtained from the Mīr.[2]

Mīr Jumla does not seem to have disdained commerce of any sort. He dealt in cloth, bezoar, iron, steel and saltpetre in Karnataka.[3] His agents held the monopoly of the unbleached (brown) cloth, to engross all from the weavers and to sell at 20% profit.[4]

During his governorship of Bengal (1660-1663) Mīr Jumla endeavoured to monopolise all articles of necessity and then sell them at fenciful prices. About 1660, Mīr Jumla offered to supply the English factors every year as much saltpetre as they would require. In the opinion of the Madras factors he did so for his personal profit.

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1. Manucci, I, pp. 232-33.
2. Tavernier, I, pp. 200, 228.
3. E.F.I. (1651-54), p. 12.
4. Ibid., p. 22.

About the same time the English factors at Patna were indebted to him for supply for 30,000 bags (6000 maunds) of saltpetre.[1] Again, sale of grain placed under a strict monopoly. Paddy and other necessaries coming to Madras through his jurisdiction had to pay customs, while paddy was sold to the towns people at 25% more than the market price. The English at Madras could not sell any thing except the articles purchased from the men of Nawab's farmer at prices 50% higher than those prevailing in the neighbourhood. He wanted to establish a monopoly of "all imported goods."[2]

Mīr Jumla and his officers, from time to time, extracted money from merchants on different pretexts. In 1661, for instance, Mīr Jumla demanded Rs.50,000 from the grain merchants of the Dacca on the pretext that the latter had made extra profit due to the continued presence of his large camp for the Kuch Bihar and Assam campaigns. The merchants, however, paid only Rs. 25,000 in all.[3] A sum of three lakhs was offered by the city bankers.[4]

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1. E.F.I.(1661-64), p. 67.

2. Ibid (1655-60), pp. 41, 93. Also see Mir Jumla,pp. 77-78.

3. Mir Jumla, pp. 277-78; Cf. Anjali Chatterjee, Bengal in the Reign of Aurangzeb, 1658-1707, Calcutta, 1967, p. 244.

4. Moreland, op.cit., p. 292.

In 1658, Malik Beg the Governor of Hugli demanded from the English an annual payment of Rs. 3,000 in lieu of customs on the pretext that the imprisonment of Shāh-Jahān and assumption of power by Aurangzeb had made all imperial grants null and void. In 1659 the governor of Balasore began to levy exorbitant charges for anchorage upon the English. The English factors declined to pay, and so a dispute arose.[1]

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1. E.F.I. (1655-60), pp. 391-2; Stewart, Op.cit., p. 323.

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